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ABSTRACT

The challenges of social change, values crises, societal needs for higher education, the internal dynamics of higher educational systems, and future reforms in higher education were discussed at the Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education. Topics discussed include: Higher Education in an Age of Internationalization (Michio Nagai); The Clash of National Interests in Higher Education (Burton Clark); In Search for a System of Postsecondary Education (Kazuyuki Kitamura); The Outlook for Higher Education in the Next Two Decades (Howard Bowen); Paradise Regained? A Policy for Higher Education in the 1980s (Harold Perkin); Stability and Change in Japanese Higher Education (Ikuo Amano); Universities: The Last 20 Years and the 10 Years to Come (Soichi Iijima); Higher Education Reform Innovation and Experiment: Prospects for the 1980s (Alexander Astin); Japanese Higher Education for the 1980s: Continuity and Change (Tetsuya Kobayashi); Higher Education for the 1980s: Challenges and Responses (Robert McCaig); Coping with the Crisis: Revitalizing Higher Education (T. J. Pempel); Higher Education in the 1980s: A Third World Point of View (V. Selvaratnam); Issues of Higher Education in the 1980s: The Case of Korea (Jongchol Kim); Higher Education in the 1980s: The Case of West Germany (Ulrich Teichler); Notes on Higher Education in Indonesia (William K. Cummings); and Higher Education in the 1980s: Some Key Issues in Western European Countries (Dorotea Furth). (CC)

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Report of the Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education

# HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE 1980s

– Challenges and Responses –

Research Institute for Higher Education
HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY

## Preface

The Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education was held from 29-31, January 1980, discussing new challanges and issues which we must face during this decade. The first Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education, forcussing on *Perspectives for the Future System of Higher Education,* was held nearly four years ago, in April 1976. It has been a great pleasure for Hiroshima University to have been the sponsor of these two international seminars which have involved participation of many eminent scholars and administrators from all around the world who are deeply concerned with problems of higher education on an international scale.

Thanks to the cooperation of all the participants, I am convinced that the Second Seminar has also proved to be rather successful in discussing and considering the situation of higher education from an international perspective. I have not the least doubt that most of the seminar participants had the same feeling as I did.

This report is the record of the Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education, edited by the Research Institute for Higher Education, Hiroshima University. All of the papers read by invited guests are printed after a minor revision by the authors. The summary of the whole session of the seminar was prepared by Mr. Yoshiya Abe and Mr. William K. Cummings, who took the role of rapporteurs.

I should like here to express my sincere gratitude to all the participants who contributed so greatly to the success of the Seminar. I am also much obliged to all of the guest participants and rapporteurs who were so helpful in preparing this report. It is greatly hoped that this report will be effective in solving some of the important problems of higher education that will confront us in the 1980s.

September 1980

Haruo Takeyama

Haruo Takeyama
President

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# PROGRAM OF THE SEMINAR

## THE SECOND HIROSHIMA INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON HIGHER EDUCATION

1. **Sponsor** : Hiroshima University
2. **Title** : The Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education
3. **Theme** : Higher Education for the 1980s
   —— Challenges and Responses ——
4. **Dates** : 29 to 31 January, 1980
5. **Place** : Hiroshima University and Hiroshima City Hotel
6. **Planning Agency and Secretariat** :
   Research Institute for Higher Education,
   Hiroshima University
   Higashisenda-machi, Hiroshima City, Japan 730

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## Purpose of the Seminar

It was in April 1976 that First International Seminar on Higher Education was held with the sponsorship of the Hiroshima University, under the title: **Perspectives for the Future System of Higher Education —— Access and Structure.** The participation of distinguished educators from ten nations led to a global discussion of long-range plans for higher education in the 21st century.

The Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education, which we plan to hold at the very beginning of the eighties, intends to discuss new challenges and issues with which we shall be facing during this decade. What are the implications of the new challenges of the eighties for higher education? How will national higher education plans have to be revised to accomodate the challenges of the eighties? Further, what are the creative responses that higher educational institutions can develop for the challenges of the coming decade? Are contemporary societies facing a crisis of values and will reforms intended to restablish a core curriculum prove to be a successful response? Is mankind's technical ingenuity sufficient to respond to the situations that will evolve in the coming decade and how can higher education improve this response?

At least one aspect of this decade of uncertainty is certain; the world will be smaller. Nations will become more interdependent and so will national system of higher education. Thus, more than ever before, there is value in far-reaching dialogue between educational observers from many nations. It is this conviction that has moved Hiroshima University to convene **The Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education** to consider "Higher education in the 1980's —— Challenges and Responses". The following issues will be considered:

(1) **Special Session —— Social Change and Higher Education** (Public Lectures)
As the rapid growth of the industrial societies during the sixties led to optimism and the expansion of higher educational systems, so the economic difficulties of the seventies brought about a depression in higher education. What will be the relation between higher education and society during the coming age of uncertainty? Recognizing that higher education inevitably reflects its contexts, what are our expectations for the context

and will this mean for higher education?

(2) **First Session -- New Issues and Perspectives** (Keynote Reports and Discussions)

The universities enjoyed their golden age during the sixties, whereas during the seventies a reaction against universities appeared and alternative forms of higher education become more popular. What can we discover from the past about the internal dynamics of higher educational systems and what independent influence are these systemic factors likely to exert on the pattern of change during the eighties?

(3) **Second Session -- Policy Making, Planning and Development** (Reports and Discussions)

Taking a macro view, higher education competes for priority with other policy areas. How will higher education rank vis-à-vis these other areas and what new possibilities might there be for linking higher educational needs with needs in otner sectors?

(4) **Third Session -- Reform, Innovation and Experiment** (Reports and Discussions)

In the face of the new challenges of the eighties, what kinds of reforms will be asked of higher education? Taking into account both future reforms as well as those that higher education is now attempting, what will be the pattern of higher education during the eighties?

(5) **Fourth Session -- International Comparison** (Panel Discussion)

Observers from America, Europe, Asia and Australia will review the situation in their respective countries and outline likely developments over the next decade. Based on this background, the seminar will conclude by reviewing common themes in the various national experiences and summarizing promising responses to the challenges higher education may be facing in the coming decade. During this session, working language will be English only.

## Schedule of the Seminar (January 29–31, 1980)

**First Day : January 29, Tuesday**

12:00–14:30 Working Group Meeting (I)

15:00–17:30 **Special Session – Social Change and Higher Education**
(Public Lectures)
Reports: Mr. Michio Nagai
(Editorial Writer, The Asahi Shimbun Press)
Mr. Burton Clark
(Professor, Yale University)

18:00–20:00 Working Group Meeting (II)

**Second Day : January 30, Wednesday**

9:00–9:30 Registration

9:30–12:00 **First Session – New Issues and Perspectives**
(Keynote Reports and Discussions)
Chairman: Mr. Michiya Shimbori
(Professor, Hiroshima University)
Reports: Mr. Kazuyuki Kitamura
(Professor, Hiroshima University)
Mr. Howard Bowen
(Professor, Claremont Graduate School)

12:00–14:00 Recess

14:00–17:00 **Second Session – Policy Making, Planning and Development**
(Reports and Discussions)
Chairman: Mr. Hiroshi Kida
(Director, National Institute for Educational Research)
Reports: Mr. Harold Perkin
(Professor, University of Lancaster)
Mr. Ikuo Amano
(Associate Professor, University of Tokyo)

18:00–19:30 Reception

**Third Day : January 31, Thursday**

9:00–12:00 **Third Session – Reform, Innovation and Experiment**
(Reports and Discussions)
Chairman: Mr. Isao Amagi
(Director General, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)
Reports: Mr. Soichi Iijima
(Professor, Nagoya University)

Mr. Alexander Astin
(Professor, University of California, UCLA)

12:00–14:00 Recess

14:00–18:00 **Forth Session – International Comparison**
(Panel Discussion)

Chairman: Mr. Joseph Pittau
(President, Sophia University)

Reports: Mr. Tetsuya Kobayashi
(Professor, University of Kyoto)
Mr. Robert McCaig
(Senior Lecturer, University of New England, Australia)
Mr. T. J. Pempel
(Associate Professor, Cornell University)
Mr. V. Selvaratnam
(Director, Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development, Singapore)
Mr. Jongchoi Kim
(Professor, Seoul National University)
Mr. Ulrich Teichler
(Professor, Comprehensive University of Kassel)
Mr. William K. Cummings
(Project Specialist, Ford Foundation, Jakarta)
Mrs. Dorotea Furth
(Head, Higher Education Programme, OECD, Paris)

Rapporteurs:
Mr. Yoshiya Abe
(Head, Exchange of Persons Division, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science)
Mr. William K. Cummings
(Project Specialist, Ford Foundation, Jakarta)

18:00–18:30 Closing Ceremony

# I

# SOCIAL CHANGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION

# HIGHER EDUCATION IN AN AGE OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

MICHIO NAGAI
Senior Adviser, United Nations University
Guest Editorial Writer, Asahi Shimbun Press

**Historical Change and The University**

At the beginning of the 1960s I wrote a book called "Nihon no Daigaku" (Chuo Koronsha, 1960). This was later translated into English as "Higher Education in Japan–Its Take off and Crash" (University of Tokyo Press, 1971). In this book I used A. H. Halsey's classification schema for universities. According to Halsey, the historical development of universities in the West can be divided into three periods. The first period, which began in the Middle Ages and lasted until the Industrial Revolution, was marked by the birth of the traditional European universities. Removed from the secular world, the universities of the period were literally ivory towers where a restricted elite gathered to search for truth for truth's sake. But the university was unable to isolate itself from the rapid transformations taking place within society in the wake of the industrial revolution. A second period then began, one characterized by the expansion of professional training for medical doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers and the like, to the key functions of the university. Halsey's third period corresponds to the emergence of technological innovation in the 20th century when vocational education and citizenship training became important functions for the university.

If we examine Japanese universities in light of Halsey's theory, it is clear that although a period of technological innovation definitely occurred in Japan, as it did elsewhere, our universities have been rather sluggish in their adaptation to the demands of this era, both in the past and at present. In this book I also noted that universities will almost inevitably begin to assume responsibility for training professionals and other vocationally motivated individuals required by the new industries that were to emerge as a result of the structural changes

caused by industrialization.

Looking back on what I said then it seems to me I was right in principle. The growth in the higher educational population during the decade of the 1960s was dramatic: the number of university students increased more than two and a half times, while those in junior colleges rose three and a half times. These represented the highest increases among the OECD countries. However, quite another image arises when one examines the extent to which Japan had planned appropriately for these increases. For example, due to the lack of public policy within the national and local governments, 80% of the student enrollment was clustered in the private sector.

Student increases during the 1970s have not been so dramatic, and since 1975, the admission rate to universities and colleges has levelled off at around 37-38% of the college age population. In 1975, when the law providing subsidies to private schools passed the Diet, the Ministry of Education also adopted a policy designed to restrain increases in the creation of new universities. That proved to be a key element in preventing a continuation of the dramatic increases in student numbers that we witnessed in the sixties.

From such a perspective, the question is whether we are likely to do particularly well in the 1980s. I think many problems remain, one of the most important of which is how higher education or postsecondary education should begin coping with the social changes that took place during the 1960s and 1970s.

What are the social forces that have exerted the major influences on education in the past? One is surely the "technological innovation" as Halsey terms it, industrialization in my own terms. Another is the so-called "popularization" of education which has basically occurred in Japan, the U. S. and Europe.

It seems to me that the 1980s will witness the emergence of a new epoch in which "internationalization" will begin exerting a fundamental influence on education as well. Although this stimulus will be felt in other countries as well, it will be especially critical in regard to Japanese universities. For example, Japan is now the third largest contributor to the expenses of the United Nations, but only 73 Japanese work for the U.N. (2.6% of that organization's work force). This represents a great disparity between Japan's financial and its human involvement. Again, Japan also has the second largest GNP

in the free world, but it depends heavily on the international and domestic activities of its industrial firms. Thus, the development of Japanese industry rests heavily on international interdependence and without international cooperation and interdependence, Japanese prosperity would have been absolutely impossible.

How appropriately has education been responding to this situation of close economic interdependence? Regretably, I must admit that our school and university education, the consciousness of the Japanese people, and our policy and planning vis à vis this situation have all been fundamentally inappropriate.

**Japanese Higher Education**

In my opinion, Japanese higher education can be divided into the following three categories. The first category is colleges and universities (*daigaku*, in Japanese law). The second is technical and vocational schools (*senshûgakko*, legally recognized in 1975). The latter were created primarily because colleges and universities failed to respond sufficiently to the diversity of non-academic social demands. One can expect such schools to become very important in the future. The third category of higher education involves the education provided by industry and government. As is clear from the budgetary investments in this latter category, industrial development during the 1960s and 1970s depended not only upon university research but much more fundamentally on non-university research. It is clear that a tremendous amount of money has been invested in education and on-the-job training within business firms and government agencies. And because such firms have to adapt to changing international and domestic environments their education and training programs have been highly adaptable to changing conditions.

Thus, Japanese higher education cannot be discussed as though it were identical to American and European higher education. In comparison to Japanese higher education, American institutions of higher education have been much more flexible in responding to changes from outside the campus, largely because the university has been considered a social service institution. American universities have frequently adapted their education and research to various social changes. And in Britain, for example, the higher educational system can be divided into two categories: the essentially private universities,

and the public sector institutions. While the first group continues to conduct elite education and basic research, the public sector has been responding well to diverse social needs.

From the perspective of international comparison, European and American higher education has also proved more effective than Japanese higher education in educating individuals capable of living and functioning effectively in an internationalized world. In Europe, the European Community has just recently held a continent-wide election for its representative body, implying a certain passage of the isolated nation state in that area. In the United States, because English, an effective language for international communication, is the medium of instruction, higher education there too is also, to a certain degree, effectively oriented toward internationalization. Moreover, because the U. S. has been active in conveying its own civilization to other areas as the leading world power during the years since World War II, American higher education has also automatically reflected an international character, although there is often a danger of making a mistake of assuming that internationalization is identical with Americanization. In this sense, Japanese higher education is quite different, and the country has particularly difficult problems in this area. However difficult it may be, we must recognize that Japan may not be able even to insure its economic survival during the 1980s if it does not respond appropriately to the challenges of the new era of internationalization. Coping with this problem is sure to be one of the central issues for the eighties.

**Issues for the Eighties**

It is very difficult to know how to reorganize Japanese higher education during the period of the 1980s. Higher education must educate people who can participate positively in the human community, and it must also conduct research useful to such purposes.

The university of Halsey's first period was a place for culture. It had very little relationship to politics and economics and in this sense it was only one of many sectors in society. But cultual activities of the university were international, even during times when economics and politics were confined within the boundaries of a single nation-state. In 12th century Europe, the *universitas*, the progenitors of the university system, were created explicitly as organizations having an international cultural character. In a similar vein,

"university autonomy" was generally established on the assumption that the university should be an international institution for higher learning. The purest form of university autonomy was preserved within European universities. It is thus possible that this European system which keeps universities separate from non-university institutions contributes not only to the preservation of the concept of autonomy but also to the notion of the university as a bastion of internationalism.

In the case of America where higher education is considered extremely flexible and very comprehensive, even elite colleges and universities are not only sensitive to issues of international culture, but they are also closely connected with politics and the economy. Much the same can be said of many small regional or religious colleges and junior colleges.

In the Japanese case, however, academicians and the academic community as a whole are often resistant to social changes. Therefore I doubt if today's universities in Japan conduct education and research sufficiently responsive to the kinds of major social changes taking place in our more internationalized world.

The United Nations University, begun in Japan in 1975, is a research-oriented university whose purpose is to conduct studies appropriate to the increasingly internationalized world community. Its themes involve such problems as development, resources, and nutrition. But the U. N. University can by no means be considered a Japanese university; instead, it is a university of the United Nations. It is historically ironical that the U. N. International University was established in Japan where the local university system is so parochial and provincial.

In any case, the U. N. University, administered internationally, conducts research on truly international issues. Therefore, it will be rather interesting to explore just how Japanese universities themselves do in regard to such a criterion of internationalism. As far as the past five years are concerned, however, the picture is not at all satisfactory. One of the big problems of the 1980s may well involve how national universities which have historically had an international character can be brought to participate more closely in the truly international projects sponsored by the U. N. University.

Because of my personal experience as a teacher in a graduate course on comparative culture at Sophia University, the only university where the main

languages of instruction are Japanese and English, I think that such participation will be rather difficult. Although English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese are internationally recognized languages, Japanese is not. In the case of Japan, despite the fact that the language is deeply related to culture and despite the fact that the Japanese economy is internationally interdependent, Japan's education and public consciousness have not become truly international in character.

It is true that campaigns to promote Japanese as an international language have taken place, and it is said that half a million foreigners are now studying Japanese. But even though such trends may be desirable, we in Japan must give our primary attention to educating Japanese capable of using English in the international community. Without such efforts, there will continue to be only a small share of Japanese personnel in such international institutions as the U. N. and UNESCO. Unfortunately, the Japanese government so far has not offered no special treatment or assistance to the rectification of this problem, and in this respect public policy is clearly underdeveloped. Nor do Japanese higher educational institutions themselves show much strong concern for the performance of this function. Whether Japanese universities can find a solution to this problem and move effectively toward its resolution will surely be one of the most important future challenges.

Learning to live and act in an international community means much more than simply engaging in international activities outside of Japan. As I mentioned above, our economy is internationally interdependent. Therefore it is also essential to consider problems such as how Japan can coexist with the world's more than 150 national economies. In a broad sense, the high growth policies which continued in Japan into the middle of the 1970s must be redirected and changed for the eighties. We must revise our social structures to adapt to a changing international environment by solving such problems as the conservation of energy, environmental preservation, and international economic cooperation.

What role can universities play in solving such problems? Quite possibly some such part may be possible. However, the university alone can not be expected to solve all of society's problems. Indeed, given its nature, the contemporary Japanese university is incapable of taking a central role without the cooperation of other categories of society and other components of the higher

educational system. At the same time, the existing universities would be well advised to direct their primary attention into research and education sensitive to the emerging social and economic problems.

In order to cope with the age of internationalization I see coming in the 1980s, it is not only higher education but also other levels of school education that must increase their sensitivity to internationalization. At the same time, it is higher education which should be most conscious in its effort to internationalize.

It is impossible to think of Japan's prosperity without thinking of our nation's international interdependence. In order to live in a condition of economic interdependence, it is absolutely necessary for us to have a truly global perspective. For this purpose, general education with strongly international overtones, is essential. But to cope with present needs, it will no longer do simply to expand existing programs of general education within the school system. Japanese higher education is still confined to the young, while adults are rarely able to participate in existing institutions of higher education. It is the mass communications media, such as television and newspapers that are providing the bare minimun elements of a lifelong general education to these adults.

Still, contemporary forms of mass communication alone are not enough for adults; higher educational institutions must also interact positively with mass communication so as to provide a truly useful product. Today, we can no longer support the notion that higher education is the monopoly of the university. In fact, the first category of higher education (i.e. university education) may not be the most appropriate one to provide general education at all. Effective general education will necessitate an interweaving of all three types of higher education together with information sources such as mass communication. This too will become an important issue to the 1980s.

The preservation of the nation state is inevitable even in the international era that is sure to emerge in the 1980s. At the same time, the particular behavior of individual nation states in a condition of international interdependence will depend heavily upon the consciousness of its citizens. In the democratic nations, higher education has already become popularized, and as a result general education can provide an important vehicle for altering such consciousness and such behavior.

In summary, I believe three issues will be of critical importance in the 1980s.

1. An appropriate specialization of roles for each of the three categories of higher education. Great attention should be given to the possibility of having sources other than universities take on more important roles in research and education.

2. Higher education and mass communication should be integrated to cope with the age of internationalization.

3. Both higher education and mass communication should perform a critical function in order to educate citizens so that they may live in the age of rapid socio-cultural changes at home and in the world.

# THE CLASH OF NATIONAL INTERESTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BURTON R. CLARK
Professor of Sociology and Chairman,
Higher Education Research Group
Yale University

I have been asked to speak on the relation between higher education and society during the coming "age of uncertainty," a topic that maximizes my own uncertainty. "Society" is composed of many parts – economy, politics, religion, family, social class, leisure, and on and on – and when we discuss higher education and society we usually commit one of two errors. One error is to fix on a particular societal sector – for example, the labor market – and then exaggerate its importance and even confuse it with the whole society. The second and more common error is to construct laundry lists of disconnected relations, speculating a little on this and a little on that, commenting in a disjointed and indiscriminate fashion on various segments of the social order. The topic invites the particular type of thinking that we normally reserve for university presidents and rectors on ceremonial occasions.

The stated purposes of this Seminar also ask: what are the implications of "the new challenges" of the eighties for higher education? What are "the creative responses" that the institutions and systems of higher education can develop in the face of those challenges? I maintain that the challenges of the 1980s will not be new so much as they will be versions of challenges confronted in the past and present. We have seen the future in problems that we already face: as Samuel Johnson has put it, "The future is purchased by the present." If we do our homework on the past, and serious research on the present, the challenges will give us less surprise. We should also expect that the responses of institutions and systems, in the 1980s as in the 1960s and 1970s, will be heavily constrained by traditional expectations, institutionalized forms and procedures, the interlocking powers of a vast network of inside and outside

groups, and, in general, the enormous momentum of a massive, complicated social institutions. Hence responses will continue to be incremental and disjointed as officials and academics attempt to solve immediate and pressing problems by adjusting marginally their organizations and programs. We may be able to improve on the "creativity" of responses by better research and improved administrative sophistication, but such improvement will surely be marginal in scope, scattered in form and application, and difficult to identify before, or at the time, it takes place.

One way to make the topic of higher education and society manageable is to concentrate on the part or parts of society that immediately and directly constrain higher education. *The* part, virtually everywhere, is government – in most cases, central government. Government is *the* modern sponsor and hence is *the* environment within which higher education resides. We can then ask: what are governments normally and naturally interested in, as they pay more attention, express more concern, and exert more control? What are societal or national interests in higher education as expressed via the governmental vessel? This approach also helps us slice into the question of "values" in higher education in a relatively concrete way. We are able to bring some societal values down out of the clouds as we pursue the definition of societal interests in the chambers of the ligislature, the hallways of the chief executive's office and the ministry of education, and the meeting rooms of such bodies as the university grants committee, the superior council of public instruction, the national academy of science, and the various national associations of administrators and professors. We no longer need to guess about which values really count, out of the ones tabulated in public opinion polls, nor turn to philosopher-kings for new statements on "the essence of the university" or "the eternal truths of higher education," as we observe expressed values of key actors in and around the system.

In our effort to root out basic values and interests, it is also extremely helpful to compare national systems, noting what underlying issues key actors seem to face in common, even as they do so in different degree and in situations that dictate different answers. From cross-national comparisons we may possibly even construct normative postures that are warranted by observed national experiences. Time and again, it seems, nation-states make major long-term blunders in higher education, as they submerge certain national interests while

concentrating on others, often allowing the pendulum of change to swing too far and thereby making new mistakes while attempting to correct the errors of the past. Thus, we can even have the pleasure of trying to tell the modern state what it ought to be interested in, especially when its behavior lacks commitment to what seems basic in cross-national perspective.

Mixing the analytical and the normative, I want to set forth three national interests that often clash, producing dilemmas in modern systems of higher education that are inherent and lasting. The conflicts are such that there are no easy solutions, but only shifting priorities, compromising adjustments, and the possibilities of tolerable balance. The three national interests are justice, competence, and flexibility.

The national interest in social justice first of all takes the form in higher education of equality for students, in access, treatment, and outcome. The equity issue in respect to clientele is a permanent one in all democracies, and authoritarian and totalitarian regimes are hardly able to ignore it. As publicly and officially interpreted in numerous countries, this interest presses hard for a commitment to open-door admission, so that virtually anyone can get in – at one time or another, in one way or another. But specific definitions of this interest do indeed vary widely, with significant effects. It is one thing to adopt an old-fashioned definition of equality of access, whereby entry is still to be determined by the "merit" of the individual, without regard to such "extraneous" characteristics as race, class, creed, for political affiliation; and quite another to define equality of access, in more populist terms, as the open door for all, without regard to merit. Then, beyond access, the interest in justice for students appears as a demand for uniform standards across a system so that everyone will be treated equally and given certificates of equal value. This point of view was institutionalized a long time ago in such countries as France and Italy in which the degree is issued by the national system as a whole and not by the individual institution, with the promise that training has been equalized in programs throughout the nation. [1] Nationalized systems in democracies have tendency to move in this direction, propelled by internal as well as external forces and legitimated by a host of definitions of "democratization."

Issues of fair and equitable treatment, we must note, are steadily pursued not only by clienteles but also by the personnel of higher education systems

and the institutions that comprise the system. The "have-nots" within the system have a driving and permanent interest in equity with the "haves," seeking the reduction of differences that indicate priviledge or suggest its possibility. Uniformity is the seemingly obvious cure, for professors, institutional administrators, and central officials alike. The phenomenon of academic drift – the voluntary convergence of less-noble institutions upon the models of more prestigious ones – has been sidely noted in such institutionally-diverse systems as the British, Australian, and American, with the driving force coming in part from the search for equity.[2] This search may exert itself via the market, through drift, or by means of the state insisting on fair shares for institutions and programs as well as for individuals. Indeed, the concept of fair share is so ubiquitous in public administration generally that evenhandedness or balance comes to mean that budget increases and decreases are to be shared as evenly as possible. As put by an American observer of Japanese budget-making: "balancing represents avoidance of comparisons among programs and their merits by implying that simply because they are similar they should receive the same or equivalent budgets."[3] Equity is as much on the mind of the bureaucrat as on the mind of the client or the institutional leader.

The second powerful national interest often expressed for "society" by officials and academics lies in competence or excellence. Society and government need a capable system of higher education, one effectively organized and oriented to produce, criticize, and distribute knowledge and to send forth, in a steady reliable stream, people well-prepared for occupational performance and civic life. Those who make excellence their primary value in higher edcation have no trouble in presenting dramatic arguments. When you are wheeled into the operating room, do you want a competent or incompetent surgeon behind the knife? If our planners must be tutored in the dismal science of economics, why on earth should we allow them to receive mediocre instruction that will increase the probabilities of grand mistakes in national plans? Can our engineers ever learn to build bridges that will not fall down? Why is it necessary for our otherwise advanced nation to remain on the periphery in one scientific field after another? – an argument heard even in technologically-advanced Japan as critics castigate the country for a tradition of imitating rather than inventing and blaim the academic system for not producing more Nobel-prize winners.[4] Academics themselves are steadily exposed to demands

for competence, and often root their own self-interest in it, since in their disciplines they belong to fields of study that are meta-institutional, and meta-national in most cases, within which judgments on capability are made across the borders. The more scientific a discipline, the more do those within it operate on an international academic "gold standard" in judging what is good and bad.

Thus, in a thousand and one ways a broad national interest in competence is brought to bear upon higher education. There is no escaping it, and those who turn their backs on it for a decade or two are forced in time to turn around and face it – for example, in China, in the apparent changes in attitudes and policy toward higher education from the period when competence criteria were ostensibly given low value – the culture of the so-called Cultural Revolution – to the present time when the regime is inclined to take its chances with "elitism" in order to have the more able professors and students concentrate on what they know most intimately and are able to do best. The interest in competence everywhere argues for some selection at the outset, rather than an open door; for a willingness to fail and weed out some students, rather than promote and graduate all who enter; and for gradations in certification that label some as more competent than others. The conflicts with equity demands are many and obvious, as widely noted in various discussions during the 1960s and 1970s in equality and excellence have been pitted against one another. In the 1980s, we shall see more of the challenge of how best to reconcile the two.

The clash of national interests increases considerably in complexity when we add the third omnibus and inescapable interest I have called flexibility, which at first glance does not have the same substantive quality as justice or competence. It sounds quite normative, yet I think we will increasingly be able to assert that flexibility is no mere preference but an interest or need for government and society that will steadily be brought to bear on higher education. Modern organizational theory, we may note, agrees with the organizers of this conference: we do indeed live in an age of uncertainty. This being so, organizations in most realms operate in ambiguous and shifting environments. And because so much is uncertain, organized systems such as those of higher education need the capacity to act flexibly, even tentatively, able to move simultaneously in different directions and adapt differentially to change. In recent years, much has been written about the increasing demands

made upon higher education: the greater heterogeneity of demand from the consumer side; the greater pull upon training from the labor-force side; and the explosion of knowledge inside as well as outside the academy.[5] But we have paid less attention to responses to such demands and future possibilities of response. The crucial structural need is a system so composed over-all that it can handle and ever-increasing array of tasks, with much spontaneous adaptation to many different demands.

The increasingly-natural national interest in flexibility will, in the 1980s and beyond, clash often with both the interest in equity and the interest in competence. For example, those interested in flexibility look kindly upon multiple public sectors and, in many countries, private sectors. But multiple public sectors nearly always lack a parity of esteem and offer studends unequal life chances. And private sectors, heavily dependent on tuition, nearly always serve the upper social classes better than the lower classes, and thereby deepen the equity problem. And extensive diversification, particularly by means of private institutions, carries with it some uncontrolled fragmentation of programs and standards and hence is a threat to competence - witness, in the extreme, the problem of "degree mills" in Florida and California, and the low standards and consumer exploitation that are involved whenever private entrepreneurs operate in an unregulated fashion in higher education, be it in Japan, the Phillipines, Brazil, Turkey, or the United States.

Thus, so express effectively just these three disparate societal or national interests, the structure of a national academic system must necessarily be full of contradictions, inconsistencies, and compromises. Equity has to be limited by the structural arrangements that induce competence and allow flexibility; e.g., selective entry, private sectors. Competence is restrained by actions carried out in the name of equity, such as open admissions, and by the practices found in the "soft" underbelly of flexibly-diverse systems in which shoddy goods are marketable. And flexibility is compromised by the arrangements appropriate for equality in access and outcome, e.g., administered uniform standards, and by the convergence occasioned by limitation in status hierarchies when status is awarded to persons and institutions on grounds of perceived quality. Thus we need not wonder in the 1980s that modern systems of higher education should exhibit a bewildering mixture of the traditional and the modern, the open and the closed, the flexible and the rigid, the elitist and the democratic. In making

the transition from elite to mass education, national system widen and deepen their elemental strains and dilemmas, each system doing so with forms and practices firmly institutionalized in previous decades and interlocked among themselves as well as with a variety of structures in the larger society.

Having set forth three national interests and pointed briefly to some conflicts among them, I would like to turn straightway to accommodations that may be made. I want to set forth four ideas – conceptions too loose to be called hypotheses – that can be pursued if we are interested in the reconciliation of equity, competence, and flexibility in higher education in the 1980s and beyond.

*Idea One*: Conflict amont these competing societal interests is reduced by diversification within a national system. The needed differentiation can occur within institutions and among them, and along both horizontal and vertical dimensions.[6] Within institutions, we can have more programs and fields of study side by side and more levels of training arranged in a progression of tiers. Among institutions, we can encourage a proliferation of different types and allow those different types to feed students to one another for different forms and levels of training. Diversification is the key idea. A large composite of *un*like parts: (a) permits better response to different demands; (b) allows better adjustment to the unknown and unanticipated as well as to the demands we already know and can anticipate; and (c) provides a more ambiguous total space within which contradictory actions taken in the name of equality and excellence and flexibility can be played out.

*Idea Two*: For the protection of the societal interest in flexibility, the crucial form of internal diversification is horizontal differentiation *among* institutions – the creative and maintenance of different sectors and sub-sectors. A certain amount of flexibility may be gained by the internal diversification of universities and colleges, as in the case of the multiuniversity in the United States and the comprehensive university in West Germany. But there seems to be limits to what we can ask any one form of organization to do, limits that when exceeded cause severe problems of overload and confusion in organizational character. Institutions that try to do it all suffer some of the same problems as persons who try to be supermen or superwomen. Then, too, educational institutions that attempt to encompass a wide range of functions usually have some central or dominant personnel power center that does not value all the

activities and handles some of them badly. The classic case in one country after another is the resistance of university administrators and professors to short-cycle education and to adult or recurrent or life-long education – resistance that has excellent reasons behind it. Therefore, it is evermore necessary to divide up the work among different types of institutions, so different units can devote themselves to different tasks and try to do them well, making relevant adjustments as they go along. Separate institutions are also typically more loosely coupled than the parts of a single organization and hence can reap the benefits of flexibility that are inherent in loose coupling.[7] I think we will increasingly be able to show that undifferentiated and tightly coupled national systems cannot handle modern higher education as well as complex and loosely-coupled systems. Despite the confusion and duplication and overlap thereby produced, institutional complexity is the name of the game for flexible, adaptive national systems.

*Idea Three*: For the protection of the societal interest in competence, the crucial form of internal diversification is vertical status differentiation among institutions–a moderately strong but open institutional hierarchy in which status is awarded to institutions on grounds of perceived quality and in which institutions are able, on this basis, to compete for elevation. Naturally, competence can be served by administrative efforts to establish minimal standards, as in the current effort in Japan to upgrade the private sector. But given the enormously complex task structure of higher education – all the many and ever-increasing professional fields and disciplines that are encompassed – and the need for the parts to be loosely-coupled and antonomous, it becomes vertually impossible, even self-defeating, to attempt to insure competent effort in most of the system by top-down oversight, planning, and administration. The problem is to find the ways to hook institutional self-interests to chariots of ambition. There must be something to be won by trying harder to be better. That something is high status and its associated rewards.

Obviously there is a question of balance. The status hierarchy of institutions cannot be so peaked – as it has been in France, Britain, and Japan in different forms in the recent past – as to freeze several institutions in elite positions and to block a genuine institutional "circulation of elites." But neither can it be so flat – as in modernday Italy – that the institution as a whole finds little incentive to better itself. A middly-ground of institutional hierarchy

provides the openness for self-betterment and the incentive to try. This includes the opportunity for institutions to compete for better personnel, and hence for young scholars to flow readily from one institution to another in search of better conditions of work.

*Idea Four*: The definition of equality that best accommodates the other two values is that of equal opportunity on grounds of merit in entering different *segments* of the national system, rather than the definition that leads to, and follows from, efforts to equalize institutions. The sectors and hierarchies required for flexibility and competence will indeed involve unequal institutions. The unlike segments, of varying status, will indeed be seen as relatively high and low, rich and poor, noble and less-noble. Hence equal access and treatment and outcome *across the system* will not be possible. Systems that commit themselves to the promise of system-wide equity are systems with a widening gap between promise and fulfillment *or* are systems likely to underserve the other two interests.

This is not an idea that will be popular in the 1980s, since equity issues loom so large on the national agenda in so many countries, attracting parents, students, politicians, and administrators alike to grand promises of wiping out inequities by sweeping measures applied across-the-board. But system-wide attacks on equity issues in higher education – debated, planned, and administered from the top – have great potential for boomerang effects. In the name of equality, they try to flatten institutinal differences, thereby undercutting the grounds we have discussed for competence and flexibility. Sooner or later, we shall have to hold our vision of equity to fair criteria in segments of the whole and even to the level of the individual institution.

Conclusion:

The topic of higher education and society, now and in the future, requires our most serious attention – and one essential way of so attending is to ask what kind of higher-education system we must have in order to meet the basic interests of the nation-state in higher education. The "pulls" on the system are so many and so strong. I have here pointed to only three that often clash. To put the matter only slightly differently, we might say that every system of higher education in advanced industrial societies must simultaneously be: (a) a mass system, in the sense of larger numbers of students and percentages

of age groups; (b) a service system, in the sense of competent delivery of a larger number of services to society, especially in occupational preparation; and (c) an innovative system, in the sense of conditions favorable to research, internal generation of change, and adaptation to environmental demands. It is the steady evolution of systems into such a state of diverse capability that should concern us. Some systems are currently in a poor position to evolve into this general condition. For example, Italy has an undifferentiated system made rigid by a combination of oligarchical and bureaucratic controls and hence is tormented by a near-permanent crisis of overload and strife. It is extremely difficult then to diversify and to innovate. Other systems, as in the case of Japan and the United States, are more lucky.

But all countries need to be on guard against the tendency to pursue only one value at a time – to be seized in one decade by a mania for excellence, to be hypnotized in another with injustice, to be committed in yet another to change for change's sake. If we are to have a plurality of values in higher education, then we need a concept of balance. And if we know more in 1990 than we do in 1980 about alternative conceptions of balance – with their advantages and disadvantages – then we will have made major progress in facing, if not "solving," our more fundamental problems. One such conception is that the well-balanced educational state of the near future will be a congerie of organizations loosely held together by influence and indirect means, rather than a set tightly linked by administrative structure. That congerie over-all would be capable of compensating for "government failure" as well as "market failure" and even for the failure of the third or independent sector.

Looking ahead in terms of a plurality of values and a concept of balance, I can end on a note of optimistic fatalism: things will work out despite our attempts to improve them.

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# II

# NEW ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

# IN SEARCH FOR A SYSTEM OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

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## I

A central theme of the First Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher education held in April 1976 can be summarized as follows: Will the existing systems of higher education which are composed primarily of traditional universities and colleges be able to respond effectively to changing individual and social demands? [1)]

At this Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education being held at the very beginning of the 1980s, I would like to raise this same theme once again, namely the search for effective systems of national higher education in the decade to come. I do this because I am convinced that this issue is one of the most urgent we will confront within this period. As such it deserves reconsideration. Its importance should be clear if we review several of the fundamental changes which have taken place in various national systems of higher education during the past decade. Certain of the structural changes that have occurred in many of the existing systems of higher education are of such a nature as to make comprehensive reexamination of the higher educational system both necessary and inevitable.

## II

What were the most important of these structural changes? I would suggest that the following phenomena are central.

*The Decline in Higher Educational Expansion*

During the 1950s and 1960s, in most countries of Asia, Europe and North

America, there was a rise in both individual and social demands for higher educational opportunities. As a result, universities and colleges expanded dramatically. At the beginning of the 1970s however, first in the United States, and then in Western Europe, the enrollment rates suddenly begun to level off. In Japan too, where continuous expansion had taken place well into the middle of the 1970s, admission rates to colleges and universities have begun to stabilize as well. Briefly stated, almost every industrial society has undergone a shift from the "high-growth" period of the 1960s to the "low-growth" period of the 1970s in their traditional higher educational institutions.

*The Emergence of Postsecondary Education Outside the University*

In contrast to the trend of decline or stability in traditional higher education, although Mr. Howard Bowen saw it as "temporary poses," the 1970s was also a period in which individual and social demands for non-academic, vocational, postsecondary education increased dramatically. During the decade of the 1970s non-university type institutions and programs increased in both number and importance. Such changes may be the signal of a major diversification of individual demands at the post-secondary level.

*Public Policies of Constraint*

By the end of the 1960s, higher educational policies in Japan, the U. S., Western Europe, and perhaps in many of the Asian countries as well, had been geared to expansion and improvement of their respective university systems. Most governments had invested substantial resources in the development of higher education through the expansion and improvement of universities and colleges, the creation of new types of institutions, and the introduction of innovations and reforms within existing systems of higher education. During the 1970s however, the financial support and the annual budgetary allocations for higher education in most countries levelled off or declined. Some governments even adopted policies designed explicitly to restrain or control quantitative expansion in the traditional higher education sector. Thus retrenchment in both finance and enrollment has emerged as a common policy direction within many industrial societies.

## III

Martin Trow has suggested that every industrial nation's higher educational system goes through a process of transition from "elite" to "mass" to "universal-access" phases. His "structural-historical theory" has been widely recognized as a common pattern of development in the higher educational systems of industrial societies.[2)]

According to this theory, higher education in those European and Asian countries where enrollment rates are below 15% of the college-age cohort is in the process of development from elite to mass higher education. Meanwhile, several countries, including Canada, Japan and Sweden, where enrollment rates are beyond 15%, have been passing over "the threshold" into mass higher education.[3)] In turn, American mass higher education where enrollment rates are now nearly 50% is seen to be moving in the direction of universal-access higher education.

To what extent have the various national systems of higher education been proceeding in accord with the developments predicted by this pattern during the 1970s? As Trow himself pointed out later, "the assumption of a steady progression of higher educational systems from elite toward mass and eventually to universal access" based on the American pattern does not necessarily reflect European realities.[4)] I would suggest that this is true and that the three stages of enrollment expansion are by no means paralleled by structural similarities.

First, have the higher educational systems in European countries in fact been moving from elite to American or Japanese style mass higher education? Although certainly the numerical growth process is similar, have any other countries been successful in creating such widespread institutions of higher education as the massive American state university, or its multi-purpose community college, or the Japanese "mammoth" private university, or junior colleges predominantly for women? To what extent are such mass type institutions becoming major or dominant components within their respective systems? Rather than moving toward an American or Japanese style of mass higher education, it is clear that many national systems of higher education still remain in an elite stage, at least structurally. In my opinion, for instance, innovations such as the New Universities and the Open University in Britain are actually new forms of elite higher educational institutions rather than

mass institutions. Although the univesity system in France was expanded and reformed during the 1970s, the changes there appear to involve little more than an expansion and rationalization of the elite-type university system which has not changed fundamentally since its origins in medieval times. Even the Gesamthochschule in West Germany which introduced some innovations different from the traditional Universität is a dubious candidate for the label "mass" institution.

Therefore, in spite of the fact that much effort has been put into numerical expnasion and reform during the past decade, it seems that the basic structures of elite type higher education in most European countries have not been transformed to resemble the American or Japanese models of mass higher education which preceeded them. A complete transition from the elite to the mass stage can be accomplished only through the creation of mass type higher educational institutions and programs, but in most European countries, the systems themselves are still composed fundamentally of structures not radically different from those that predominated during the elite stage.

What of Japanese higher education? It is certainly true that Japan adopted drastic reforms with the "new university system" introduced just after World War II. Japan passed "the threshold of mass higher education" by the end of the 1960s in enrollment figures. But structurally as well, there can be no doubt that Japanese higher education is now in the middle of the mass stage. The size of student enrollments, the diversification of institutions and programs, and the variety of academic levels available, all confirm this fact. At the end of the 1970s, nearly 1,000 Japanese universities and junior colleges enrolled nearly 40% of the country's high school graduates. If we add to this those students admitted to non-university type institutions at the post-secondary level, it is clear that nearly half of today's youth has in some way or another enjoyed educational opportunities beyond high school.

Does this mean that Japanese higher education is now beginning the transition from "mass" to "universal" higher education in accord with the American experience? If by "universal" higher education we mean a situation in which everyone, regardless of age, is able to enjoy educational opportunities at any stage of life, then at least by the end of the 1970s, there were few clear sings to suggest that Japanese higher education was moving in such a direction.

Japanese higher education remains simply one more step in the formal

schooling of youth and the current changes it is undergoing are aimed primarily at intensifying or expanding this traditional formal schooling. Important as change of this sort may be, it does not constitute the development of a system of life-long education.[5] The rigid, closed structures of Japanese higher education do not allow such flexible learning patterns as delaying entry into college or transferring between departments or institutions, nor is it open to adult learners. Meanwhile, the tendency of employers to discriminate against students who take longer than usual to complete their studies or who enter school at any time other than the customary age also serves to reinforce the nature of higher education as formal schooling. In Japan except for a very few institutions which have tried to open the doors for adults, universities and colleges have been institutions only for the young, a trend which is unlikely to be altered in the near future. Therefore, the direction in which Japanese "mass" higher education is moving, while certainly not backwards toward an "elite" stage, does not involve movement toward a system of "universal-access" and lifelong education of an American type. Rather it appears to be moving in a direction unique to itself.

America thus appears to be a rather unusual case and Trow's categories appear to be less than universally applicable. American higher education was the first in history to cross the "threshold" to universal-access higher education and it seems definitely to be moving in the direction of a universal-access higher educational system in which all people regardless of age can enjoy access to postsecondary educational opportunities at anytime during their lives. This is clear from the fact that almost a third of the total enrollment in existing U. S. higher educational institutions are adults and from the fact that state universities and community colleges have very rapidly been established and expanded as lifelong educational institutions. But such American developments have not been mirrored in the Japanese experience or elsewhere, just as the Japanese and American mass experiences have not been brought about in Europe.

Individual national systems of higher education do not always follow common patterns of development; rather, each tends to go its own way based on peculiarities of tradition, background, and environment. However, in spite of the different phenomena described above, this short review does suggest that we are all facing one common problem, namely that meeting the individual

and social demands of the 1980s will necessitate not only an expansion or diversification within traditional higher educational structures but also the development of specific opportunities for education and learning by non-university type institutions at the postsecondary level. And if this assumption is true, the most fundamental challenge facing all of us in the 1980s may well be that of identifying an appropriate educational model that includes such institutions, but which can be effectively adjusted to national diversities. Following this we must try to develop strategies and methods for its introduction.

## IV

Higher education in the 1980s will require more than simple expansion or innovation within traditional higher educational structures. The reform and reorganization of the higher educational system as a whole is also essential. At the postsecondary level the society of the future will increasingly need more informal elements of continuing adult education in addition to the traditional pattern of formal higher education. In reality, a great variety of programs have been developed already but unfortunately the educational and learning opportunities they provide are often so diverse and fragmented, often so lacking in coordination, that they are not always systematically or flexibly available to those who need them. The system for the future must be somewhat, though not vastly, larger in scale, but more importantly, it must offer much more diversified experiences to its participants, and must be much more flexible in its structure. In order to provide appropriate programs effectively and efficiently to those who need them, it is necessary to create an integrated postsecondary educational system in which traditional higher education and non-traditional continuing education are well coordinated and integrated.

Postsecondary education can be thought of as encompassing all educational and learning opportunities beyond high school. As such it is composed of two sectors: traditional higher education (colleges and universities) and continuing education (non-university type postsecondary education, including adult education and vocational training). Under such a system, both sectors should perform specialized functions, but they should carry out these specific functions in cooperation with one another. For instance, the traditional higher educational sector, which is composed of general and specialized education,

should concentrate its efforts on academic and professional education and research, while the continuing education sector should concentrate on providing the kind of practical and occupational training which is inappropriate for college and university education. However, both sectors must complement each other through the exchange of learning experiences and academic achievements, through exchanges of teachers and students, and through the creation of curricula and programs that cut across sectors and institutions. If such coordination and complementarity between these two sectors were to be established within a comprehensive postsecondary educational system, it would be possible to create a truly effective lifelong educational system in which any person could find access to any form of study at any time.

The decade of the eighties may be the very time to look for strategies by which to create such a comprehensive system of postsecondary education. This is consequently one of the purposes behind the holding of this Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education. We wish to direct your collective attention to the problem of creating a new system of higher education for the 1980s. We urge you to participate in a lively debate on this matter, believing as we do that the collective wisdom and expertise of such distinguished guests from around the world will certainly contribute to the building of a brilliant higher education for the future.

V

Before concluding this introductory remarks, I would like to add a few comments on our program for this seminar. As should be clear from the information we provided for you, the purpose of the seminar is to identify the new challenges and issues that we will be facing during the coming decade, and from there to consider how best to find effective solutions, necessary reforms, and useful strategies to cope with them. In order to identify the real nature of the issues for higher education in the 1980s, the first thing we have to do is to make clear the environmental and societal changes likely to exert major influences on higher education. After this, we can discuss the problem of new roles for higher education and the relationship between university and society during the coming decade. This is the main topic for the Special Session–*Social Change and Higher Education.*

At the First Session–*New Issues and Perspectives*–we should try to identify

the sources of the new issues arising from structural changes in the higher educational system by examining our past experiences. Then we wish to shed some light on the probable direction of higher education in the next ten years.

At the Second Session–*Policymaking, Planning, and Development*– we will discuss the policies and plans that may be necessary to adapt the remnants of the 1960s and 1970s to the new challenges and structural changes of the 1980s. Then, in the Third Session–*Reform, Innovation, and Experiment*– we will consider the kinds of innovations and reforms that will be called for in higher education during the 1980s.

Finally, at the Fourth Session–*International Comparison*– we will exchange information on the experiences in our respective countries with regard to developments in higher education. Based on this background, we hope to discuss the common issues and challenges from a comparative international perspective, and hopefully, to develop perspectives for the future of higher education. It is hoped that new horizons for the 1980s will be opened through the cooperation of these participants from around the world.

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# THE OUTLOOK FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NEXT TWO DECADES

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I am pleased and honored to have been invited to take part in the Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education. I have looked forward with high expectations to our deliberations, particularly because the exchange of views among persons of different countries provides perspective on the problems and opportunities of one's own country. I wish to thank President Takeyama, Professor Kitamura, and their colleagues for their hospitality and for the splendid arrangements and facilities they have provided.

I have been asked to speak on the outlook for higher education in the 1980s. I shall do so in the broadest possible terms. Let me begin by commenting on the goals or objectives that are shared to a degree by most of the countries represented here and by many other countries as well.

## Goals

The long-range underlying purpose of higher education is to achieve "a nation of educated people." Almost every country is in the process of extending education at all levels to ever-increasing proportions of the population. The hope is that virtually all citizens will have the equivalent of a secondary education and as many persons as are qualified will have higher education. The intention is that higher education will no longer be the privilege of a small minority but will ultimately be extended to a large fraction of the people, perhaps even at some distant time to the vast majority.

The idea of "a nation of educated people" is a revolutionary concept. It is disturbing to many people. Never before in history has this objective been sought, let alone achieved. For example, today in America, only about 14 percent of the adult population are college graduates and this percentage

grows very slowly. No one knows the consequences of spreading higher education to the masses. The effort goes on nevertheless. It is widely believed – as an act of faith – that the spread of higher education will advance society by enriching the culture and promoting economic growth. It is also believed that the spread of higher education will enhance the dignity and welfare of individual human beings, will add to their lifetime interests and satisfactions, and will increase their earning power.

Different nations are today at different stages in the expansion of higher education. Some, especially the developing nations, are just beginning; a few advanced nations are clinging to the elitist concept of higher education and are slow in opening it to the masses; some especially the communist countries are inhibited by a concept of economic planning which tends to restrict higher education to the number of foreseeable jobs; some, especially Japan and the United States, are already admitting the equivalent of 40 to 50 percent of each age cohort to colleges and universities. But every country faces the potential demand of increasing numbers of its people, young and old, who seek the opportunities afforded by higher education. In the long run these demands will be politically irresistable, and the future will see increasing enrollments throughout the world -- though perhaps with temporary pauses like the one now expected in many countries.

**The Job Market**

Let me now turn to the controversial issue of the job market. Those people who see higher education primarily as preparation for careers are inclined to question the wisdom of expanding higher education on the ground that the economy will be unable to assimilate all the graduates. They argue that the education of persons beyond what the present labor market can absorb is wasteful and will lead to individual frustration and social unrest. On the other hand, many people see higher education primarily as a means to the development of the human personality. They hold that higher education should be available to everyone who can benefit from it regardless of the labor market. They believe that simple morality demands that the opportunity for personal development should not be denied merely because the economy does not provide enough of the kinds of jobs traditionally reserved for educated people. Moreover, they argue that there is no reason why non-professional workers

– truck drivers and factory workers, and bank clerks – should be kept in ignorance and thus denied the possibility of personal development.

I would support higher education not merely by the moral argument I have just stated, but also by an economic argument. In discussions of the job market, it is often assumed that the economy provides a fixed list of jobs, and that the main task of higher education is to prepare the labor force to fill these particular jobs. What is forgotten in this point of view is that jobs must also be adapted to the manpower available. New kinds of jobs, unknown in a society of uneducated people, are continually being created in a society of advancing education. There is a continuous two-way adjustment going on: on the one hand, workers are preparing themselves for the jobs available; on the other hand, employers are adapting the nature and content of jobs to the workers available. Education tends to shape jobs at the same time that jobs tend to shape education. The jobs in an economy with an educated work force will be quite different from those in an economy with an uneducated work force. For this reason, in an advanced nation the spread of education need not in the long run create either unemployment or underemployment.

**Educability**

Another issue that surrounds the future of higher education is the educability of the population. Many people hold the view that only a small elite fraction of the population is qualified by native intelligence and life experiences for college education. These tend to argue that any effort to recruit large numbers of people into higher education will inevitably result in a lowering of standards if not total collapse of genuine advanced learning. Others, including especially some Marxist theorists,[1] hold that virtually all people are, or could become, qualified for higher education. According to this view, the main limitation on enrollment is underprivilege with respect to family background and social environment. This latter view is supported also by Benjamin Bloom[2] and others who maintain that almost anyone can learn almost anything, given enough time. It is also supported by a study of Taubman and Wales[3] which shows that from 1925 to 1961, the average I. Q.s of those entering college rose in the United States from the 53rd to the 62nd percentile of all high school graduates, despite the enormous growth in college enrollment during this period. I have also been impressed by the rise in average I. Q. scores

of the U. S. population since intelligence testing first began at the turn of the century. As improvements occur in the health, the social environment, and the educational background of parents, the test scores of children and their intellectual qualifications tend to rise. In America at least, progress in these respects has recently slowed up. But in the long run as the education of parents spreads and as child health improves, one might reasonably expect that a steadily increasing proportion of age cohorts would qualify for higher education. Human potentials are far from realization.

**Equality**

One of the characteristics of our age is enormous popular interest in human equality. The spread of education is looked upon not only as a means to equality of opportunity but also as a means to reducing inequality of income and status. One of the disappointments regarding the spread of education is that it seems not to have hastened progress toward greater equality of condition. The overall distribution of income, for example, seems to have been unaffected. I believe this short-term failure can be explained.

In the long run, the spread of higher education will help to even out the distribution of income and social status as well.

To illustrate, I shall refer to experience in the United States. In the 18th and early 19th century the distribution of education among the American people was fairly even for the simple reason that most people had little education. Some day in the distant future, if the growth in enrollments continue, the distribution of education will again become more equal because almost everyone will have a great deal of it. But in the period through which we are now passing, educational attainment is distributed very unevenly among the population. A few people - about 14 percent - are college graduates, about 13 percent have no more than an elementary education, and the rest are scattered between these two extremes. Over time, as many as two-thirds of the population may become college graduates and almost no one would have less than a secondary education. At that distant time, the distribution of income and status would be much more equal than at present.

**Diversity**

Along with other members of this seminar, I believe that a society that

hopes to educate a large proportion of its people must have diverse institutions of higher education and diverse programs within institutions. A uniform educational system basically designed for a small elite group will not suit the masses of people. There is need for varied institutions: public and private, large and small, humanistic and technical, residential and non-residential, etc. There is also need for many forms of independent study and for recognition of lifetime experience. There is need for opportunities suited to various age groups from precocious twelve-year-olds to elderly men and women. There is need to accommodate ethnic and religious minorities, handicapped persons, and even criminal offenders. The necessary degree of diversity in different countries will, of course, vary according to the variety of people. In countries with people as varied as those in the United States or Brazil or India the diversity of institutions must be greater than in countries with a more homogeneous population such as Japan, or Sweden or West Germany. Yet there is no country so homogeneous that it can properly accommodate all its people in standardized traditional institutions and programs. As higher education spreads, however, the population will for that very reason become more homogeneous and the diverse institutions and programs will probably evolve toward more standardized patterns. I would expect, however, that no country would ever, or should ever, reach that degree of homogeneity among its people that a single standardized pattern of higher education would suffice. However, when I speak of diversity, I refer to appropriate differences in content and style of education, not to inequality among various classes. Education can be diverse and still equal.

**Political Support**

Political leaders and the general public in many countries are questioning the wisdom of pushing on toward the goal of "a nation of educated people." In some countries they have been discouraged by student radicalism and disorder, in most countries they have been concerned about the job market for college graduates, and in all countries they have been worried about fitting an ever-expanding higher education into tightening public budgets. In many countries, also, the decline in the birth rate has suggested that no further expansion of higher education is needed in the foreseeable future. It is clear that the exponential growth of the 1950s and 1960s could not go on forever,

and that the attitudes of the public and their leaders are less favorable to expansion than they were a few decades ago.

Yet I believe that expansion will in the long run be resumed. My reason for this opinion is basically that the millions of people who have already been college educated will demand that their children be educated, the millions of families who have not yet come into the higher educational orbit will demand that their children have the opportunity for higher education, and the millions of adults beyond the usual college age will demand opportunities to overcome their educational deficiencies. I believe also that higher education will be a preferred activity in the production and consumption patterns of the future.

It is a highly desirable good that makes minimal claims on scarce natural resources and causes minimal damage to the environment. The present slowdown in the progress of higher education toward the goal of "a nation of educated people" I regard as a temporary pause in a long-run trend. And I believe this pause is helpful in that it permits the correction of excesses and mistakes made during the previous period of rapid expansion and allows for careful planning for the future.

**Costs**

The problem of financing a growing higher educational system raises the matter of costs. A great deal of rhetoric is expended on ways of cutting costs. It is frequently suggested that research and public service should be played down in colleges and universities and that greater emphasis should be given to instruction of students; that advanced study should be cut back in favor of undergraduate study; that the ratio of faculty and other staff to students should be lowered; that instruction should be mechanized; that building space should be used more intensively; etc. These suggestions and others like them are all tenable to a degree. Moreover, it is well known that higher educational costs are lower in some countries than in others. And within countries there are great differences among political subdivisions and among institutions. In this respect, the United States may be an extreme case. In some states, the cost per student of operating public institutions is three times what it is in other states, and the educational cost per student of some institutions in the United States are nine times what they are in other institutions. Even

for comparable institutions with similar missions and apparently similar levels of quality, there are wide differences. These differences suggest that there are many ways of conducting higher education and that differences in results are probably much less than the differences in cost. In other words, economies are possible and it is the duty of educators to seek them out. Yet, in the final analysis, the question of cost resolves into the question: What kind of higher educational experiences do we want for our children and for our fellow citizens? Do we want capable and well-trained teachers, worthy role models, an atmosphere of serious scholarship and learning, fine libraries, well-equipped laboratories, individual counseling, beautiful campuses, cultural amenities, and opportunities for wholesome recreation and social life? Or are we willing to settle for less? And if so, how much less? Higher education can be conducted expensively or cheaply. The differences in results between the more expensive and the cheaper forms are not known with any certainty. The differences pertain as much to the standard of living and to our view about what life should be like as to educational excellence. They are based on judgments about intangibles, not on clearly demonstrable results. Therefore, it behooves educators to be conservative in their expenditures and in their claims about what can be achieved through elaborateness and expensiveness.

Whenever I am judging an institution of higher education, I always ask myself: Would I send a son or daughter of mine to this institution or would I recommend it to a friend? In applying this test, I find that in most systems of higher education, the institutions with the best staff and facilities are patronized by the students who bring with them the greatest advantages in aptitude and family background, and the institutions with the most limited facilities are patronized by students having the least advantages. This is surely perverse in societies that hope to narrow class differences by extending education as widely as possible. It suggests not necessarily that the operating costs of the more luxurious should be reduced. Rather it suggests that the operating costs of institutions and programs that serve large numbers of disadvantaged students should be raised. It also suggests, not that education for all classes of students should be the same, but rather that it should be different but equal. If the principle of different but equal were adopted, the spread between the cost of higher education for the more privileged and the less privileged would be narrowed, but the education offered would not necessarily be the same for all.

**Concluding Comment**

In my remarks, the basic theme is that higher educational systems all over the world are engaged in the ambitious and unprecedented quest of "a nation of educated people." I have tried to consider the issues of the 1980s and the decades beyond with that long-range goal in mind. I believe that the upward trend of higher educational enrollments will continue over many decades, perhaps with fluctuations in the rate of growth, and even with occasional pauses or dips. But I believe that politically there is no way to halt the demand of people for the education of their children and themselves. I also believe that in a world of raw material shortages and environmental pollution, people in the developed nations will turn their efforts increasingly toward cultural development and will moderate their concentration on economic growth.

**References**

1) Levitas, Maurice, *Marxist Perspectives in the Sociology of Education.* London: Routledge and Kegan, Paul, 1974.

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3) Taubman, P., and Wales, T. *Mental Ability and Higher Educational Attainment in the Twentieth Century.* Berkeley: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1972. See also Bowen, Howard R., *Investment in Learning.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977, pp. 347-56 .

# III

# POLICY MAKING, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

# PARADISE REGAINED?
## A POLICY FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

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Higher Education is an infuriatingly frustrating service to work in and plan for. For as long as I can remember it has always been facing a crisis. I came into it as a student in the immediate post-war crisis when it was flooded out with returning veterans. I was a young lecturer in the 1950s when it stagnated and declined and promotion meant waiting for dead men's shoes. I was chairman of the Development Committee of the (Brirish) Association of University Teachers at the time of the Robbins Committee when we seemed to raise the target figures for student numbers in the 1970s about once a month. I was president and vice-president of the A. U. T. in the early 1970s when the target figures for the early 1980s were revised downwards just as often. Now we are talking with equal alarm of the crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s when the potential student numbers entering higher education will plummet like a ski slope down Mount Fuji.

Viewed economically, higher education has all the characteristics of a highly fluctuating capital goods industry – which from one point of view, if you substitute sophisticated human for inanimate machines, it is. Just as a capital goods industry magnifies the upswings and downswings of the consumer economy – when consumption rises, machine tool orderbooks overflow; when it falls, orders fall even faster or are cancelled – so higher education planning magnifies the booms and slumps of the birthrate. It is the classic "stop-go" service industry. To adapt a cliché, when the birthrate catches a cold, higher education anticipates pneumonia. When the birthrate falls, universities, colleges and education ministries sense disaster 18 years ahead. When it rises, they foresee another sort of disaster – a shortage of student places and of the

financial resources to provide for them. And when it neither rises nor falls, they wring thier hands about stagnation, professional immobility, and blocked promotion prospects.

This is because higher educationists, like the futurologists of the Hudson Institute and the various "Europe 2000" groups, are masters of statistical extrapolation. In good times (with rising birthrates) their graphs climb like a homesick angel; in bad times (with falling birthrates) they plunge eternally like Milton's Satan. In the early 1960s when birthrates peaked all over the Western world we all talked about the "baby boom" and how affluence had made the young less materialistic, preferring children to still more cars and television sets. Now, as birthrates decline, we talk about the young, especially with women's liberation, preferring two careers to parenthood and, perhaps, pursuing high earnings and material goods to compensate themselves for not having children. Some scaremongers are even reviving, on the international plane, the fears of the eugenicists of the early 20th century. Just as then the intelligent and energetic middle classes were being outbred by the "inferior" working classes, so now the intelligent and energetic industrial nations are being outlived by the poorer and less developed countries. Fortunately or unfortunately, according to your point of view, in neither case is or was the fear justified. By 1972 the children of the manual working class (according to John Goldthorpe and Catriona Llewellyn of the Nuffield College social mobility study) contributed a larger share to the incumbents of Social Class I (27.5%) than did the children of Class I itself (25.3%) (See their "Class Mobility in Modern Britain," *Sociology*, vol. 11, 1977). At present several Third-World countries are proving themselves intelligent and energetic enough to make cars, television sets and fashion clothes better and cheaper than we can, while even more have learned how to make us work for them by selling us oil at a monopoly price. We shall soon need a better education system in order to compete with them.

The problem for educational policy makers is that extrapolation is the most fallible tool in the futurologist's tool kit. It gets one into all sorts of absurdities. If a baby went on growing at the same rate as in its first week after conception it would become as big as an oil tanker before it was born. If a gambler went on winning on a $1 double-or-quits throw of the dice he would become a millionaire in twenty throws. If, as a Dutch minister of edu-

cation argued in the early 1960s, higher education continued to expand at the current rate, by 1980 it would consume the whole Gross National Product. Or, to take the downward trend, if a submarine went on diving at the same rate as in its first minute, it would reach the centre of the earth in twenty weeks. Fortunately, extrapolation only works "other things being equal," and other things are never equal. Impossible trends have a habit of correcting themselves. Few babies grow too big to be born, few gamblers become millionaires, few submarines even reach the ocean floor, and few birthrates fall so low that the society ceases to exist.

Unfortunately, educational policy makers are forced to practise extrapolation, however much it has failed in the past. The British Department of Education and Science produced in 1978 very good Discussion Document on *Higher Education into the 1990s* which was based on some very intelligent and discriminating extrapolations. It contained three masterly charts which give a complete picture of the coming crisis as it affects one country, which I reproduce below. Chart 1, Age participation rates, extrapolates the percentage of the normal 18-year-old student age group which can be expected to enter full-time higher education down to 1994. (It includes sandwich-course students who combine periods of full-time higher education with intermittent periods of industrial employment.) It does so on three different assumptions:

1) a "high variant" which assumes that the proportion of potential students qualifying and wanting to enter higher education will increase at something approaching the "Robbins rate" which operated before the present slowdown, from 14% now to 21% in 1994;
2) a "low variant" which assumes that the present rate, with some slight recovery after the recent closure of some teacher training colleges, will continue at about 15%; and
3) a "central projection" which is a compromise between the two, rising to 18% of the age group.

## BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION PROJECTIONS, 1960-1994

Chart 1. Age participation rates.
Higher education full-time and sandwich students:
Actual and variant projections to 1994/95, Great Britain.

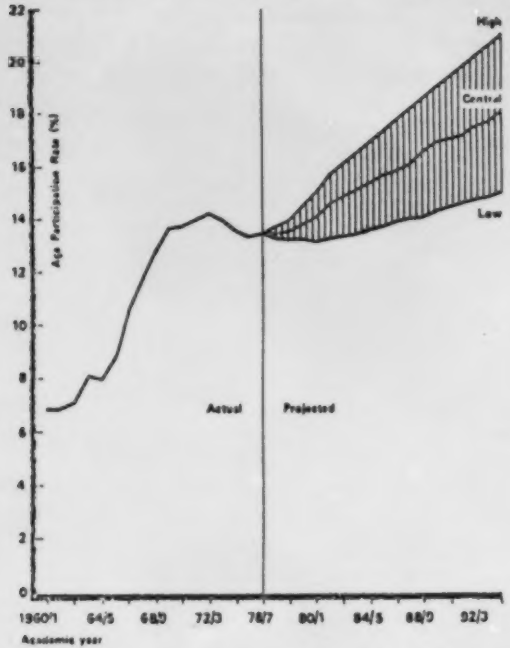
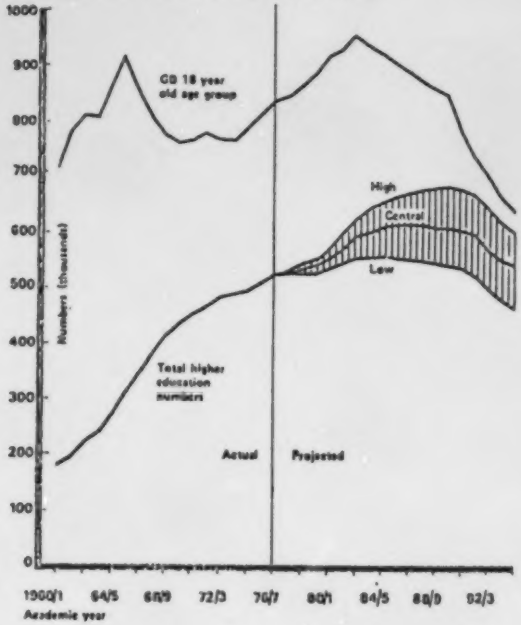



Chart 2. 18 year old population and total full-time and sandwich students in higher education, Great Britain




Source: Department of Education and Science, Higher Education into the 1990s: A Discussion Document (London, 1978).



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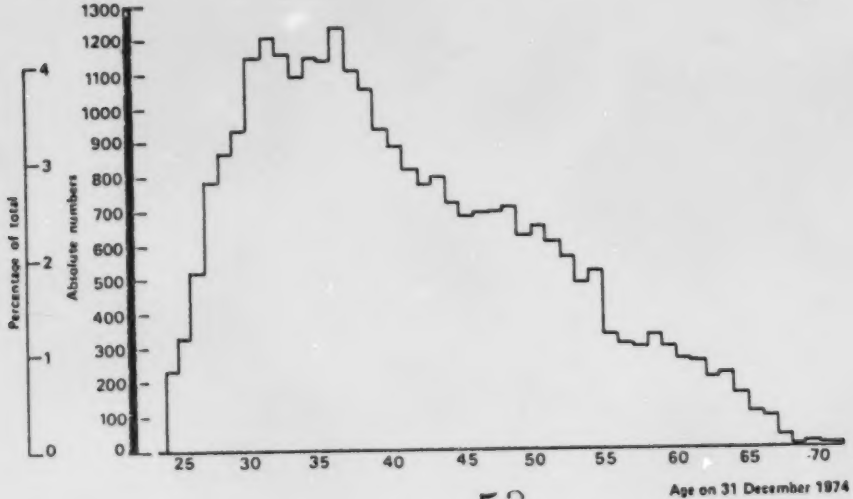
Chart 3. Age distribution of university academic staff.
All subjects, total (non-clinical, wholly financed by universities), Great Britain



It does not say why these particular assumptions were chosen. They are presumed to be reasonable "other things being equal," that is if the same kinds of students go to university or polytechnic as do so now. But why should they remain the same? To that question we shall return.

Chart 2, the 18-year-old population and full-time students in higher education, applies the projections of Chart 1 to the future pool from which students are traditionally drawn. The numbers of 18-year olds down to 1994 are (allowing for the small percentage who may die) already known because they are already born. The Chart seems a bit odd at first sight because it looks as if by 1994, on the high projection, nearly every 18-year-old will go to college –until you remember that the student numbers contain all three (in some cases, four) undergraduate years, plus postgraduate and foreign students.

It does not concern itself with projections beyond 1994, on the sensible grounds that future birthrates are unpredictable. But what happens to higher education after that *does* matter, because we want to know whether we are planning for a temporary crisis or a permanent decline in student numbers. Charles Carter has argued "that the 'bulge' which started to become fully apparent in the 18-year-old age group in 1976 will by about 1980 start to provide a significant rise in births; and that this in turn will cause an increase in student numbers just before the year 2000." I myself believe that the upturn will be even larger: the parental bulge due to the birthrate bulge of the early 1960s, itself an "echo" or secondary wave from the post-war bulge of the 1940s, seems to have postponed some of its childbearing because of the economic climate of the 1970s, and deferred parenthood may well produce another "baby boom."

Be that as it may, other factors may also not be equal, or produce equal effects. What if world recession should intensify, and produce greater unemployment? That could have one of two contradictory effects. Either fear of graduate unemployment might discourage potential students who prefer a job in the hand at 18 to no job at all at 21, or teenage unemployment might drive them into college for lack of anything better to do. Which it will be depends not merely on the structure of the labour market but also on government policy. The number and size of student grants, particularly of discretionary grants for vocational courses, in comparison with teenage earnings, is one factor. Another is the exorbitant rise in fees for overseas students which

is deliberately designed to keep down student numbers even where the academic plant and labour is underutilized. And a third is taxation and incomes policy, which together have, as Gareth Williams has shown, helped to halve the differential earning power of a degree (from 15% to 7% a year over a graduate's career). But these uncertainties are all operative within the existing framework of higher education, and would be transformed if the framework were changed.

Chart 3, age distribution of university academic staff, though it is relegated to the appendix to the Discussion Document, brings us to the heart of the crisis. (Since the non-university sector of the binary system has expanded faster than the universities and is now declining faster, the age distribution there is even more alarming.) What it means, since only about 15% of the university teachers will retire in the 1980s, is that unless the higher education system continues to expand, only about that number of new appointments can be made, only about that number of existing staff can be promoted to senior posts, and meanwhile the whole profession will grow older and increasingly discontented. When the higher educationists themselves become stagnant, immobile, frustrated and embittered, that is a *real* crisis in higher education. Wasted young scholars who cannot get jobs, angry middle-aged faculty who cannot get promotion, hard-pressed elderly professors whose every action except their own retirement is resented -- this is the meaning in human terms of the "stop-go" development of higher education. The system for as long as I can remember has always expanded in unregulated spurts, like a desert river, at one moment a raging torrent, at the next a trickle in a parched landscape. And both the generation of the flood and the generation of the drought are equally frustrated, the one because of blocked promotion, the other because there are no jobs at all.

The crisis is not of course confined to Britain. The birth rate seems to have peaked in all Western European countries and the United States between 1959 and 1966 and, although it has been declining from a higher starting point ever since World War II in Eastern Europe and Japan, it is currently declining all over the developed world. Moreover, the crisis is likely to be greater in those countries such as the United States, Canada and Japan which approach nearer to mass higher education, because the larger the age participation rate the smaller is the pool of non-students from which, by policies of social, sexual or racial equality for example, a compensating increase in student numbers

may be drawn. Different countries, of course, have different structures of higher education which, as Burton Clark has shown, are more and less amenable to government pressure to change them. A system with a large private sector like the United States or Japan will resist government pressure to change but may respond much more readily to market forces, yet may for that very reason be more vulnerable to falling student numbers. On the other hand a highly centralized, state-dominated system like the French or Italian may still find effective ways of resisting government pressure to change and, though less vulnerable to falling student numbers, may successfully resist egalitarian pressures to widen access for the underprivileged.

The British case is worthy of international attention partly because it falls midway between the market-oriented and the state centralized systems and partly because the government, or rather the responsible civil servants of the D. E. S., have offered an analysis of the crisis and a set of possible responses to it. The Discussion Document sets out five models for coping with what it takes to be the temporary bulge in student intake down to 1982 and in overall student numbers down to 1984 (when the total will rise on the "central projection" from the current 520,000 to 600,000), followed by a permanent decline back to present numbers or less. This "hump," as some have called it, may be climbed over, cut down in size, got round, or tunnelled through, and these are all that the first four models offer. Model A proposes to climb over it, by first expanding and then contracting the system to cater fully for the additional students -- at enormous cost in redundant buildings and new staff with poor career prospects. Model B proposes to cut down the number of students by competitive entry – at the cost of abandoning the Robbins principle of providing for every applicant who is qualified and wishes to enter. Model C gets round the problem by renting temporary buildings and hiring temporary staff – at the cost of great discomfort to everyone and great unfairness to the staff concerned. Model D proposes to tunnel through the hump either by shortening degree courses for some students from three or four to two years, and / or by diverting students from full-time to part-time courses (including the Open Univerlity), and / or by encouraging students to defer entry until the leaner years and to take temporary jobs between school and college – only the last of which is feasible or sensible, and none of which is likely to solve the problem.

Only Model E envisages the possibility of "significant changes in the pattern and composition of the student body," in two main ways. The first is "the possibility of taking positive steps as a matter of social policy to encourage (greater) participation by children of manual workers." Britain already has a larger percentage of university students of working-class origin (28%) than any other West European country, but since the manual working class makes up 60% of the occupied population there is still room for improvement. The Discussion Document sees hope for this in the spread of comprehensive secondary schools, though in practice the abolition of the grammar schools has widened the academic gap between the private and state schools and reduced the chances of bright working class children gaining entry to the more prestigious universities. But this approach, though highly desirable for its own sake, would not materially alter the nature of the problem since it is still aimed at the same declining age group. Only the second way, the provision of "more systematic opportunities for recurrent education for mature students" takes a tentative step outside the normal student population – and mature students of the traditional kind, the comparatively small numbers of dedicated, self-sacrificing autodidacts, are already catered for in the full-time universities and polytechnics, the very large part-time college sector (with over 3,000 institutions) and above all in the Open University. Thus even Model E, which has naturally been seized on as a lifeline by higher educationists of every kind, is merely a limited extension of existing policies. What is needed is a revolution in attitudes to higher education which will treat the crisis of the 1980s not as a problem but as a challenge and an opportunity.

The revolution must start by asking the question, what is higher education for? What social purposes does it serve? *Cui bono?* (For whose benefit?) Or to put it in a less elitist way, *who is post-compulsory education for?* If we can answer that question perhaps we can decide how important to society is education beyond the compulsory school-leaving age and what priority to give it amongst the many competing claims upon national resources.

Hitherto post-compulsory education, particularly in its more prestigious form at universities and polytechnics, has been mainly for the few: an elite few, heavily drawn from the upper and middle classes, disproportionately from the male sex, and overwhelmingly from the immediate post-school age

group. It would be foolish, in the name of a false egalitarianism, to withdraw it from those few. It would be equally foolish, and wildly impracticable, to aim at universal post-compulsory education for all. But it is not beyond the bounds of reason, social justice and practical ingenuity to construct a post-compulsory system for all those who can benefit from it and, not least important, benefit society by benefitting themselves. And for obvious reasons the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the existing system will have spare capacity in the form of underutilized buildings and underemployed staff, is the optimum time to introduce the new regime.

To serve both society and the individuals who wish to learn at the advanced level, the system must serve several different purposes or groups, both old and new. We may take these in ascending order of size, though not necessarily of importance.

First, and paradoxically, it must still be capable of producing an academic elite – not for their benefit but for the sake of the rest of us. Without an elite of dedicated seekers after new knowledge and reinterpreters of traditional culture, a society would lose its curiosity and its heritage, its social purpose and its identity, its mind and its soul. The problem is how to select the few, from the best brains and most creative spirits not merely from those of inherited wealth and status, and how to keep them active and productive and prevent them from declining into privileged and well-endowed idleness, like pre-Victorian Oxford and Cambridge. For this purpose only a small number of scholars, scientists and creative artists is needed, but they must be the right few, chosen by competition from as wide a field as possible, and preferably at the graduate level from all those who have proved their quality in any institution throughout the system.

Secondly, there is the larger group of students preparing for the (non-academic) professions. European universities began in the middle ages mainly as professional schools for the clergy, law and medicine and through their most moribund periods they never wholly lost that purpose. In the last hundred years or so one modern profession after another has claimed a niche in the higher education system, until the university and the polytechnic stand in danger, as Joseph Ben-David in the final volume of the great Carnegie Commission Series on Higher Education has complained, of becoming merely specialized training schools for experts. Experts we certainly need, carefully

selected from as wide a field as possible and again, therefore, preferably trained at the graduate level; but not experts and nothing else. They must also be wise and good members of society, if that is possible, and that brings me to the third group and function.

All students, whether or not they intend to become academics or professional people, need a general grounding in the culture of their society. This includes its history, literature, scientific knowledge, its political, economic and social structure and, above all its system of values. They need these even if they wish to change them: the most radical or revolutionary, a Robert Owen, a Karl Marx or a Lenin, needs to understand what he is against. As Ben-David has suggested, in this age of specialization general or to use an old-fashioned word, moral education, has been the most neglected, and we have paid fo it in the "me-first" generation of the 1960s and 1970s. This general education has almost been squeezed out of the English universities, apart from the New Universities of the 1960s, but it is still to be found in the Scottish universities and in the liberal arts colleges and undergraduate first and second-year courses of American universities. It is time to bring it back, not only for its own sake but also as the main training ground and recruitment pool for the academic elite and the professional schools.

All the above groups and purposes are within the traditional framework of university and polytechnic education. Fourthly, we come to a much larger group of post-compulsory students who have traditionally remained outside the walls, and with every example of "academic drift" of a college or polytechnic towards university status are pushed still further out. These are the mainly vocational students in what is called in Britain *further* education, most of them part-timers, on whom the efficiency and indeed the very survival of British industry and commerce depend. Compared with their full-time contemporaries, for whose privileged education their taxes help to pay, they are neglected and deprived. While full-time university students, however wealthy, get their fees paid by the government plus a minimum of £200 maintenance, the vocational students are eligible only for small grants at the discretion of the local education authorities, and those in work often have to pay their own fees and travelling expenses. A fairer and more efficient system of post-compulsory education would give much higher priority to this group of students, both as the potential backbone of the economy and as a recruitment pool

for the professions, particularly the technological professions.

Finally, there is the widest group of all, the vast numbers in the non-student age groups. As Dr. Spock ought to have said before it was too late, "Parents have rights too." Important as it is to widen access to university and polytechnic for the under-privileged of the student age group – working-class children, women of all classes, immigrants of every race and colour – it is still more important to widen access for those older people whose main contribution to higher education until now has been to pay for it. A great deal has been written about recurrent or lifelong education but, apart from the old Workers' Educational Association with its links with the universities and the new open University, very little has been done about it. Three groups in particular need more provision. The smallest but still significant is that of the professional and other skilled workers who need post-experience refresher courses to bring them up to date or even to change their skills in a rapidly changing technological and service-oriented society. Such courses exist but much more could be done. Secondly, there is the larger groups of traditional mature students, those able people who missed the boat at the normal age and have rediscovered their talents and motivation in middle life. Again, these are already modestly provided for but they need much more help. Thirdly, there are all the rest of us who want to learn for its own sake. Life is not just getting and spending. Civilization has always meant the life of the mind and spirit, the delights of knowledge, literature and the arts, at least for the few. Why not for the many? In a society where everyone is a specialist of some kind, everyone is therefore a non-specialist in a host of fascinating fields of knowledge and aesthetic experience. To talk of this kind of education as a "consumption good" is a bathetic understatement: for many people it is the end and purpose of life. But here we come full circle, to a point where everyone who wishes ought to be able to spend part of his or her time doing what the fortunate elite of scholars, scientists and artists do for most of theirs.

What sort of a post-compulsory education system do we need to regain for the many the paradise once inhabited only by the few? It would be foolish to make utopian plans which cannot be fulfilled, and we must obviously start from what we have got. What we have got in Britain is 44 universities (on over 70 different campuses), 30 polytechnics and over 8,000 colleges of higher

and further education and evening institutes. The problem is merely to integrate them both with each other and with the surrounding community. It would require only three administrative changes (admittedly the most difficult kind of change for administrators to accept):

1) open access to any local institution for all qualified applicants, and to some local institution for the not yet qualified;
2) easy transfers between institutions within the system for those who discover interests, needs and talents which can be met best elsewhere -- this might require for professional or vocational careers a system of modular accreditation which entitled them to pass without loss of time or repetition from a less to a more advanced institution; and
3) a system of funding students which did not discriminate too harshly between levels or age groups, but allowed everyone the same access to finance spread over a lifetime's education – this might mean a personal educational budget account which could be called on throughout life.

In this way the post-compulsory education system would become a mansion with many doors, connecting corridors, and "pass-out tickets" which enabled one to return again at any convenient time. It would have many advantages over the existing system. For the first time it would produce distributive justice over the whole field of post-school education. It would be more efficient from society's point of view because it would be capable of mobilizing all the available talent wherever and whenever it appeared and not just that part which could be recognized and selected by age 18. And it would treat lifelong learning as a basic right of citizen-ship and as an end in itself – the mark of a truly civilized society.

From the point of view of the academic profession and the educational policy maker it would have one final, short-term but irresistible advantage. It would solve the demographic crisis of the 1980s. As the numbers of traditional students fall after 1984 the new system could take up the slack in the most timely and efficient way. The problem will have been transformed into an opportunity to regain an educational paradise. But every paradise has its fallen angel. This one has a very formidable one, the redoubtable Margaret Thatcher, who does not like public expenditure even for the worthiest of causes. Yet there is hope: the scheme is timely in one more sense. 1984 is the year of the next British election. Let us hope that by then both major political

parties will be forced by the electorates to see the opportunity for a new approach to higher education within the crisis of the 1980s.

# STABILITY AND CHANGE IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

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## I

As we enter the 1980s, Japanese higher education has become comparatively stable compared to that in other highly industrialized societies. Certainly more than a few problems remain to be taken up. But these are not items which must be resolved immediately and I do not see higher education as a whole as in a precarious situation.

The explosive period of development in higher education has ended in Japan just as it has elsewhere. The rate at which 18 year olds are continuing on to higher education shot up rapidly from 16% in 1965 to 24% in 1970 and to 38% in 1975 but this later figure has stabilized and should remain at 38-39% through the later half of the 1970s. However with no decline in the actual number of students continuing on to univeristies, there is still a sufficient number of students continuing on to insure the existence of present higher educational institutions. Financially speaking, because the economy moved from its former high growth rate to a phase of low growth at the beginning of the 1970s, the nation's finances were constrained and a brake was put on public spending. However for the present at least, instead of declines in the public expenditures for higher education, there have been steady year by year increases. Moreover when we look at the employment conditions for graduates of higher educational institutions we no longer see the sellers' market that prevailed due to the lowered economic growth rate. But still the excess supply had not reached the point of causing any severe unemployment among graduates. Generally speaking Japanese higher education has virtually escaped the crises confronting other higher educational systems. Why is this so?

A series of changes which occured in the 1970s, particularly the shift to low growth in the economy and in higher education, led to predictions of a crisis in the case of Japanese higher education as well. However, this crisis was avoided due to the set of fortuitous circumstances described below.

First, there was the structure of Japanese higher education. A major division exists between the national and local public university sector on one hand and the private university sector on the other, but it was the private sector which supported the bulk of the high level growth in higher education. The relative weight of the private sector in the total university population was already 60% in 1960 but in 1970 it passed 75% and in 1979 it has reached 80%. A peculiar feature of the quantitative expansion in higher education in Japan is the fact that the establishment and expansion of private institutions which was at the core of this growth occurred without the introduction of public funds. As a result, despite the rapid growth in higher education, the rate of national funding for higher education remains around a comparatively low 4% even today. Hence this is one reason why the influence of financial constraint has not been felt in higher educational expenses.

The primary, indeed the bulk, of the capital for the establishment, expansion and support of higher educational institutions in the private sector comes from tuition and other student fees. This means that if there is an increase in the number of students from the lower socio-economic strata and if the capacity of families to bear the burden of economic costs goes down due to a slowdown in the economic growth rate, the results will be felt directly in the financial bases of the private institutions. In fact at the beginning of the 1970s the class background of graduates did decline and the economic growth rate did slow down and many private universities confronted a financial crisis. However, beginning in 1970, this crisis was eased substantially by governmental assistance toward the financial expenses of the private institutions. In 1970 this amounted to no more than 7.2% of total operating expenses but in 1975 it passed 20% and in 1979 it is expected to reach the 30% level. Without this infusion of public money, one can calculate that fees for students in private universities would have been forced to increase 1.4 times. Public assistance has thus come to play a large role in allowing the private universities to avoid administrative difficulties and in checking the decline in the proportion of students continuing on to universities.

The crisis of private universities, and, in turn of higher education, was further alleviated in a significant way by the education plan which began in 1976 and with the policies to restrict the scope of higher education that accompanied it. The aim of this five year plan was to shift the tone of higher educational policy from quantitative expansion to qualitative enrichment. As one step in achieving that goal, a temporary five year law was passed giving the Ministar of Education the power to restrict, through planning, any new construction of higher educational institutions. According to this plan, for a five year period, the increase in the number of entering students was to be limited to 32,000 beyond the 608,000 entering in 1975. In 1979 this constrictive policy is actually proceeding according to plan. Needless to say, the constriction in higher educational facilities, particularly in new construction in the private institutions has served to check the severe competition to acquire students that was expected from the levelling off of the student attendance rate. The fact that both the proportion and the number of students continuing on to higher education have been stable since 1975 has already been noted, but at the same time any newcomers' participation in the struggle to recruit students has been limited and existing higher educational institutions have been promised a continuation of their recent share of students.

On the question of why there has been no major rise in the unemployment problem despite a tightening in the job market for university graduates, various explanations are possible. One reason is that along with the slowdown in the expansion of students continuing on to higher education there has also been an end to the increase in the number of students graduating. Furthermore although Japan's economy is no longer growing at 10% annually, in place of the negative growth rate that was expected at one time, it continues to grow at about 5% per year. This fact can be given as a second reason. However, isn't the employment structure of graduates of higher educational institutions also important? Let us look first at the employment structure by occupation. Among the university graduates of 1978 no more than 38% entered specialized or scientific employment while 40% went into office work, and 17% entered sales. And in contrast to the fact that the rate of employment in office work has continued to hold steady over the past ten years, specialized or scientific employment has declined while employment in sales has risen sharply. In sum, employment opportunities for university graduates have already begun to

expand greatly outside the traditional markets and by taking advantage of such specialized employment, increases in unemployment have been avoided. Turning to the employment structure by size of firm, 26% were employed in medium sized firms of 300–999 and 34% entered small firms of 100–299. In contrast, 40% found employment in large firms with 1000 or more employees. Among graduates the inclination to find employment with large firms is strong. However, the other half of the picture is that the desire of small firms to employ university graduates is extremely high so that when employment opportunities within large firms decrease due to poor conditions, the small firms serve to absorb the balance.

## II

In these ways Japanese higher education has adroitly avoided any deepening crisis throughout the 1970s. But is it possible for this to continue into the 1980s? Can Japanese higher education preserve the present stabilized condition in the future?

It is said that the thing to be concerned about in the future of highly industrialized societies is that it is an age of "uncertainty". This is said with regard to the future of higher education as well. But really the age of uncertainty in higher education began in the 1970s. At the beginning of the 1960s when the era of high growth in higher education started, who predicted the sluggishness of today's rates of continuation onto higher education? As Ladislav Cerych said, when speaking about the future of higher education there is probably only the "certainty of uncertainty".

What *is* certain about higher education in the case of Japan is only the population trend for the 18 year old population which forms the source of supply of those continuing on to higher education. In the first half of the 1980s this will hover around 1,600,000, and as we move into the later half of the decade it will increase sharply to around 1,900,000. The rate of continuance on to senior high school in Japan has already increased to a rather high 90% and so close to 90% of the 18 year old population is eligible to proceed on to higher education. If this rate of continuance remains at the 38-39% level that it is today, this figure means that existing higher educational institutions will have sufficient numbers. To the extent that there is no large scale expansion or construction of new facilities of higher education, when we enter

the later half of the 1980s there will probably be severe competition in entrance examinations and a large increase in the number of *ronin*. But will the rate of continuance in fact remain at present levels? Or will it decline or increase? In a society like Japan in which individual higher educational institutions have an entry quota and where the selection of entrants is based on examination, the rate of continuation is determined by the number of 18 year olds and by the entry quota. However, when one looks at the trend of those wishing to continue their education (the proportion of high school graduates wishing to continue) it is clear that the slowdown in the ratio of those continuing their education in the later half of the 1970s was not created by the Ministry of Education's constraint on new expansion and construction and on the entry quotas. This trend moved in parallel to the actual rate of continuance and was quite stable in the later half of the 1970s. There are many reasons given from economic explanations to social psychological explanations, as to why this slowdown in the rate of continuance occurred but one of them can be called fully explanatory. Movement in the rate of continuance is thus highly unpredictable. Still, in the 1980s, at least to the extent that this continues at present levels, the actual number of students who continue in the second half will increase sharply over the number who continued in the first half.

As for the entry quota as a means of limiting the number of those continuing, a new six year plan for higher education covering 1981-1986 is now under consideration. This would continue the policies of the previous period and take a strongly constrictive policy line, anticipating an increase of no more than about 34,000 people, roughly the same as the previous period. To carry out such a restrictive policy it is indispensable that there be an extension of the temporary law giving the Ministry of Education the authority to limit new construction and expansion in private universities. If such an extention is not authorized, we can once again expect a boom in new construction and expansion in private universities particularly in anticipation of the rapid increase in the 18 year old population. If this happens, once partial contribution to the stabilized condition of the present will have been destroyed.

The second condition which has contributed to the present stability has been government aid to the private universities. Since an upper limit of 50% of all operating expenses has been set on this aid, there is still some room left for its expansion. However there are several problems with this. First of all,

will aid to private universities from the national government actually be increased to the full limit, given the acticipated financial retrenchment? Second, present aid policies take the form of aid to institutions, and aid money is given rather uniformly to individual institutions, but, will this institutional impartiality be continued in the future? Third, when one half of the essential operating expenses are provided by public funds, how much freedom of administration will be permitted within the private universities? Such problems will probably be discussed continually in regard to aid to private universities.

In this sense, the policies of 1) constraining new expansion or construction by private universities and 2) public aid have the potential to become elements of uncertainty in the higher education of the 1980s. However, the likelihood that such possibilities will become realities is rather small. Looking at the constraint policy, with the exception of one element of the private universities, it has broad support from those in higher educational institutions. Furthermore, since constraint on the entry quotas has been accompanied by a downturn in the rate of those desiring to enter universities, the sharpening of competition in entrance tests and the quantitative increase in the number of *ronin* will probably not occur. Hence, politically too, the continuation of past policies will be easy to support. And even though there is debate over the best means to provide aid to private universities, this is already rather systematically established. It is thus improbable that there will be an end to the system itself, or that the rate of aid will be significantly decreased from present levels.

Even if these two main elements of policy contain elements of uncertainty, it is improbable that they will cause major instability within the system of higher education as a whole. If we are to isolate things which might bring about future uncertainty, they probably involve something other than these two main elements.

## III

The six year higher educational plan now under discussion for 1981-1986 would continue the important goal of structual reform in higher education begun earlier, aiming at constraint in quantitative expansion and at the enrichment of quality. This basic aim of structual reform can be broadly divided into two components: the reform of regional structures and systemwide diver-

sification and strengthening.

The concerete purpose of reform of the geographical structure, more than anything else, involves reducing the concentration of educational opportunities in the large cities and diffusing them into other areas. Higher educational opportunities in Japan are concentrated in the metropolitan areas, with 34% of the students residing within central Tokyo and another 24% in the other six governmentally designated metropolitan areas, but focusing the policy of constraint on new expansion and construction within these metropolitan areas will lead to diversification in educational opportunities to other areas and will advance the equalization of opportunities among regions. Steady progress toward this goal has been made during the first plan and as of 1979 the proportion of students in Tokyo had declined to 30% while that in the designated metropolitan areas was down to 23%. This policy of regional diversification would be continued under the new plan and the expansion of higher education facilities in metropolitan areas would be severely restricted. There is one major problem with this policy however. Namely, despite the regional diversification policy for higher educational opportunities, the concentration of 18 year olds in the metropolitan areas is expected to continue. For example, looking at the southern Kanto Plains area which includes Yokohama and Kawasaki as well as Tokyo, in 1975 this area contained 17.3% of the country's 18 year olds (275,000) but this rate will rise sharply to 21.1% (334,000) in 1980, to 24.6% (458,000) in 1986 and to 26.5% (554,000) in 1991. This means an expansion of about 1.6 times in the approximately ten years between 1980 and 1991.

The 18 year olds in the metropolitan areas in which the major portion of the higher educational institutions were concentrated have been in a comparatively advantaged position to continue on to higher education. One of the more important of these advantages is the fact that the burden of educational expenses is reduced by the possibility of being able to attend school in one's home district. But, if new construction and expansion of higher educational institutions is limited, such an advantage will quickly be lost and the competition of entrance examinations in the large metropolitan areas will increase sharply. In such a case will students who live in the metropolitan areas and who wish to continue their education, look to higher educational institutions in other areas? Or will they hold on to the educational opportunities close

to home with the result that entrance examination competition will become a severe social problem? Or else will they decide not to continue their educations, either getting jobs or choosing some other path? It is difficult to predict, but depending on which direction such changes take not only will there be changes in the regional structure of Japanese higher education but the stability of higher education itself will be significantly affected.

The second point, diversification and strengthening of the system is the most important policy target because since 1960 Japanese higher education has been completing the shift from what Martin Trow has called the elite stage to the mass stage. At present nearly 40% of the 18 year olds continue on to higher education, and in this sense, Japanese higher education is truly in the mass stage. Nevertheless, this system has intensified its uniformity and rigidity and thus retains a large number of features of the elite stage of higher education. The perennial problem symbolizing this fact is the rather sharply peaked hierarchy among higher educational institutions, especially in the large majority of universities. The rankings, in terms of the social prestige enjoyed by the various universities and structure of resources allocation which lies behind this prestige, have been amazingly stable, with virtually no fundamental changes during the past century. Any reform aimed at diversification and strengthening must first of all be aimed at reforming this rigid and hierarchical structure into a diversified, strengthened and competitive structure suitable for the mass stage into which the system has passed.

A fundamental conceptualization of such a diversified and strengthened system has already been made in the 1971 report of the Central Council of Education, and throughout the 1970s various policy steps have been taken in accord with this report. The majority steps involve a revision in the establishment standards for univeristies, graduate schools and junior colleges; the systematization of technical schools; the actualization of the University of the Air; the reform of the university entrance examination system and so forth. In addition, progress is being made in the establishment of new university and graduate school structures, in the introduction of credit transfer and a system of opening day and evening classes, and in the opening of graduate schools and faculties to the community.

Such efforts toward diversification and strengthening of the system only began in the later half of the 1970s and we should wait to assess their results,

but at the present time it is difficult to say that they have been very effective. The general aim of the reforms carried out to date, more than anything else, involved selecting different methods to induce reform efforts by the individual higher educational institutions which make up the system thereby producing competition within the system. However, this aim has not necessarily been successful. We can think of various reasons why this is so. The rather traditional and conservative character of higher educational institutions, particularly the universities, is one reason. We can probably also say that industry's employment patterns, which rely so heavily on a student's school record, provide another important reason, one which supports the rigid hierarchy from the outside. It is probably also necessary to raise doubts about whether the policy steps taken to date have been adequate or not. For example, there is a contradiction between policies supporting efforts to create competition on the one hand, and policies such as those noted above involving limitations on new construction and governmental financial aid to private universities, since these latter actually serve to limit competition. Many other such contradictions could be noted. If there is an increased diversification of the higher educational institutions which make up the system and competition is created among them, this alone will increase uncertainty. Supported by strong government control, university conservatism, and an industrial employment pattern which relies heavily on a student's school record, Japanese higher education has preserved its uniform, rigid and, moreover, stable structure. But if higher educational policies in the 1980s are to aim at rather fundamental reform, and if they are to be successful in bringing these about, uncertainty about the future of higher education almost certainly will increase as well.

## IV

For Japanese higher education in the 1980s, a primary cause of uncertainty will be changes in the economy. If the economy slips into negative growth rates which continue for several years, the number of those desiring to continue on to higher education will decrease. This will provide a large shock to the private universities whose financial base rests so heavily on income from tuition and especially to those private institutions which are at the bottom of the hierarchy. This will give rise once again to an administrative crisis among the private universities. Furthermore, because of the decrease in the employment

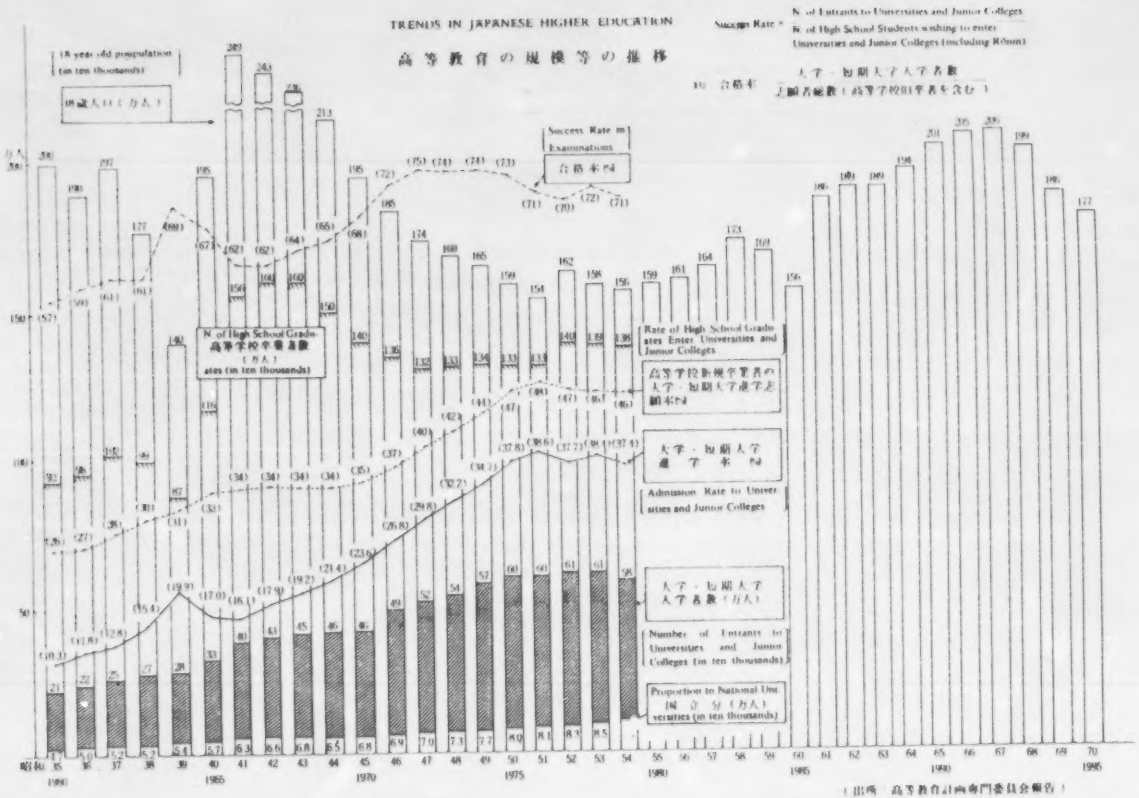
power of industry, there will be a major problem with the ability of graduates to gain employment. However, to the extent that the economy continues growing even at a lower, but stable, level, Japanese higher education will probably not confront any major crisis.

The primary reason for such stability will be the increase in the number of 18 year olds. The "clientele" of Japanese higher educational institutions is drawn overwhelmingly from the age group of 18-21 year olds. In the next ten years, this group will initially be stable and then in the latter half, it will increase rapidly. To the extent that there is no major decline in the rate at which students seek to continue their education, there is almost no way in which there will be a decrease in the "clientele" of higher educational institutions. In the face of a "clientele" which is expected to increase steadily (or else rapidly), the government will also be playing a role in the preservation of the present higher educational institutions by, on the one hand limiting severely any new expansion or construction among higher educational institutions and on the other hand by bolstering public aid to private universities. If there is anything which will shake up this stable condition it will probably be as we saw above, 1) the imbalance in the geographic distribution of 18 year olds and in educational opportunities; 2) the vigorous moves toward policies of diversification and strengthening or 3) the development of the University of the Air which, upon completion, is expected to have 450,000 students. However it is difficult to think that these elements will have the shocking power to jolt the entire system of higher education and precipiate a crisis.

In this sense, Japanese higher education in the 1980s, while it has many problems remaining from the 1970s, will continue in a condition marked by the absence of drastic developments, major changes, or deep crisis. Given this overall stability, if a crisis does arise (barring major changes of a systematic or political nature) will it not be in regard to fulfillment of the fundamental role of higher education in a high growth society, such as the increase in the number of people being involuntarily educated or in an overexpansion of its screening function?

## TRENDS IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

## 高等教育の規模等の推移




Success Rate = N. of Entrants to Universities and Junior Colleges / N. of High School Students wishing to enter Universities and Junior Colleges (including 80%ers)

合格率 = 大学・短期大学入学者数 / 志願者総数（高等学校既卒者を含む）

（出典：高等教育計画専門委員会報告）

# IV

# REFORM, INNOVATION AND EXPERIMENT

# UNIVERSITIES: THE LAST 20 YEARS AND THE 10 YEARS TO COME

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## I

The 1960s and the 1970s can undoubtedly be labelled a period of international university reform. The consolidation and expansion of university reform was a fundamental social problem of this period in both the advanced and the developing countries. If we exclude the developing countries for the moment, it is clear that during that time one of the special features of the university problem in the developed countries – Continental Europe, England, the U. S. and Japan – was the seemingly national scale of the policy targets. In West Germany as the result of administrative cooperation between the Federal government and the state governments, the Science Council (Wissenschaftrat) was established in 1957. In 1960 this body published its "Report on the Expansion of Science Facilities: Part I," followed in 1962 and 1965 by Parts II and III of the same report. In 1962 the council also issued a report entitled "Toward a New Form of University." In England, the Robbins Committee on Higher Education was created in 1961. And in 1963, it put together and published the so-called Robbins Report. In 1960 a master plan for higher education in the state of California was decided upon while at the level of the Federal Government, between 1963 and 1969, the Higher Education Facility Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Amendment Act were passed in rapid succession. The Carnegie Commission of Higher Education was established in 1967 and went on to exert a major influence on university policies, not only in the U. S. but in a number of other countries as well. In the same year, the OECD as well –

primarily through its Committee for Scientific and Technical Personnel – carried out an international information exchange and a survey of higher education. In both scale and quality, such activities were unprecedented in the history of universities. No longer could the overall harmony and efficiency of universities be based exclusively on their own simple perceptions of individual university autonomy. No longer would this provide an adequate response to society's demands.

II

As an essential element behind this situation, one must note first of all the rapid advances in science and technology starting in the 1940s. Secondly one must consider the transformation of the world's political and economic conditions after World War II. The amazing transformation in the fields of science and technology is most symbolically manifested in the emergence of contemporary physics out of classical physics, but beyond physics, developments of a revolutionary nature occurred in the domains of all types of industrial engineering, biological sciences and medicine. The advances were of a character which exerted widescale changes well beyond their theoretical implications. With the expansion in scientific reporting, the results of scientific and technological developments came to permeate the day-to-day realities of social life, raising life expectancy dramatically, altering economic levels and changing people's patterns of work and life style. It is probably fair to say that the establishment of the Science Council in Germany in 1957 was a manifestation of this impetus toward basic preparation for the new age of science and technology. At that time Germany had been left behind by the advances of the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. in science and technology and was demonstrating its impatience with a variety of the weaknesses in the scientific character of the German-style classical university.

Meanwhile, the conclusion of the Second World War brought about, first of all, a concentration of wealth in the U. S. . This, in conjunction with the consequences of the New Deal policies and the progress of the scientific and technical revolution, brought about a rise in that country's productivity and a growth in the living standards of its citizens. The existence of large numbers of young people at the end of the war worked in conjunction with these trends to act as a stimulus to the collective expansion of the universities.

In 1959, the California Legislature asked the Liason Committee of the State Board of Education and the Regents of the University of California to investigate the future of universities in California. So motivated the committee reported on "Meeting California's Needs for the Next Ten Years and Thereafter". These "needs" in principle meant the rise in the number of those hoping to attend college. Various incentives after the war such as the general smoothing out of international relations, large scale economic expansion policies in a form which reduced war and economic panics and the rapid development and expansion of the technological revolution led to economic growth in the U. S. , followed by Europe and finally Japan and various other countries. These in turn gradually stimulated a rise in the rates of university attendance and the development of universities for the mass public.

III

The response to these pressures was not necessarily as flexible in Europe as it had been in the U. S. due to the general inertia in basic school organization, in university objectives and in the social system. In terms of university reform one of the more extreme patterns that emerged was that of France. There, immediately after the war, the Commissariat Générale du Plan d'Equipment et de la Productivité was set up to engage in comprehensive national development planning. However, not until 1967, in the report of the Commissions de Modernisation l'Equipment Scholaire, Universitaire et Sportif, was higher education taken up as a target of policy. And then the report was rather indifferent only with some regards to the problem of estimating the size of the educational population. In the interim, the higher educational population had exceeded 500,000 and in 1966 the government, recognizing the need for a variety of policies to deal with the annual expansion in the number of students and the tendency toward a decline in scholarly abilities, decided on the so-called Faure Reforms. But since these reforms involved no more than post hoc adjustments within a fundamentally conservative foundation, they helped pave the way into the "May Revolution" of 1968. When we look for the appearance of policies of university reform in France, we see none until after these university protests. Then in October, 1968, engulfed by social problems the government passed the Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement superieur.

Compared to this situation, there was by nature much more of a mass

character and much more strength in higher education within the U. S. . Moreover, in the case of Japan, educational reforms had taken place under the influence of the U. S. following the Second World War. The primary and secondary school systems as well as higher educational institutions were reorganized in ways which laid the groundwork for a certain form of mass higher education. Japan also had an unusually significant number of private universities which served to fullfill the important role of absorbing the rather rapid expansion in the higher educational population. It was for these reasons that the massive expansion in Japanese universities proceeded with comparatively little friction in a form somewhat similar to that of the American model. Naturally, as the OECD's Educational Investigation Committee pointed out in its "Review of National Policies: Japan," this expansion also brought with it a variety of problems.

## IV

The university protests experienced in France were of course occassioned by the conservative nature of French higher education and by the fact that the Faure Reforms were still confined to changes within the old system. But at the same time, they were also a partial manifestation of the worldwide university protests which had started in the middle of the 1960s and continued for several years thereafter.

Viewing the period broadly, student movements in various countries intensified their political character, starting with the December 1964 disturbances at Berkeley, and continuing with the acceleration of the SDS movement in West Germany. In 1966, the Great Cultural Revolution began to influence Peking University. In 1967, a student occupation occurred at University of Turin in Italy while in Japan the Anti-Intern Movement of the Young Doctors League began heating up. In 1968, protests spread through Columbia University, the University of Rome, Frankfort University, Tokyo University and across various campuses in nearly every one of the advanced industrial countries, peaking as they did in 1969. Although the history and character of these worldwide university protests has yet to be fully analyzed they did exert a deep influence on university reforms from 1960 to 1970. In France, the Loi d'orientation de l'enseignement supérieur discussed above; in California, "Education at Berkeley, the Report of the Select Committee on Education" (the

Muscatine Report) written in 1966 and "The Culture of the University: Governance and Education," of 1968; in West Germany the "Empfehlungen des Wissenschaftsrates zur Struktur und Verwaltungsorganization der Universitäten, 1968"; in Japan, the 1971 Report of the Central Council for Education entitled "Basic Guidelines for the Reform of Education," and other university reform plans in the later half of the 1960s were all informed by the experiences of university protest.

V

Consequently, no assessment of university reform can ignore an analysis of the ways in which university protests influenced university reforms. However, as I noted above, there has been only few complete analysis of the 1960s' university protests and such an analysis is not necessarily easy. In my opinion however, two fundamental causes lay behind the protests of that era. The first was the development of mass higher educaion; the second involved political ideology and sentiments.

The development of mass higher education naturally led to disagreement between the large numbers of entering students and universities which had been places for classically limited elites and the several professions. These involved not only the physical phenomena of so-called mass-production higher education and the overcrowded nature of the facilities; there were also matters touching on the essence of university education. These in turn were not limited to problems involving the contradiction between high level specialization and the mass character of both the content and structure of scholarly study. They arose as well in the form of criticism of the "hypocritical nature" of a university education in which high levels of specialization were built in, and privileges were created unquestioningly. As Columbia University's Cox Commission Report pointed out "The present generation of young people in our universities is the best informed, the most intelligent, and the most idealistic this country ever has. It is also the most sensitive to public issues. The ability, social consciousness and conscience, political sensitivity and honest realism of today's students are a prime cause of student disturbances." On the other hand, the fact that students who had been brought in en masse had become "honest realists" seemed also to mean that they refused to engage their abilities in difficult studies; nor did they overlook any opportunities to blame the system

for their own dissatisfactions and unease. This provided one of the more indulgent dimensions of university expansion.

However, political ideology, namely the so-called New Leftism, lay at the root of the fact that these dissatisfactions and unease with the university took the forms of activism and radical struggle. I cannot include an analysis of New Left thinking in this essay but I would note that its thought involved less of an ideology and was much closer to a political feeling, involving political thought hostile to economic demands and having in its background various emotions about war, peace, conscription, human problems, humanity, social justice and direct participation. New Leftism was an authoritarianism which did not desire authority and acquired its greatest activism on that variation of the best of all worlds, the university campus.

## VI

In this regard, viewed generally, the central problems of university reform from the 1960s through the first half of the 1970s can be summarized as 1) responding to the rapid developments in science and technology 2) absorbing the trends of mass higher education and 3) coping with university protests and their related elements. Furthermore, the university reforms aimed at these problems were significant in so far as they were taken up as policy problems at the national and international level. Meanwhile individual universities in different countries, responding to a variety of different conditions were coping with their separate problems in different contexts, trying out various experiments and making numerous transformations of their own. In this period more than a few universities based on new rationales were also established.

However, the various problems noted above that caused such transformations with the university actually also contained within themselves certain contradictions of an inherent doctrinal nature. As a result, even responses to the same single problem had different characteristics that, at different times, put them almost totally at odds with one another. Ever the phrase "university reform" carried with it a different mood at different times. Hence details regarding the purposes, means and focus of university reform were not necessarily uniformly agreed upon. Even a phrase like "investigation of the past and evaluation of reform" could generate vastly different meanings depending on one's own viewpoint and the concrete items under consideration.

The point at any rate is that we must consider whether an individual university can actually function as the sum total of these various structures and contents. Moreover to what extent are there standards of assessment that would allow a particular society to decide how much to permit the existence of functionally diverse universities. Beyond this, in a certain sense, not even in an eternity could one arrive at agreement of the demands that should be made of the university since these require continual reexamination. As a result the university and the society which permits it to exist contain within themselves possibilities for unlimited individual reforms and gaining self-identification must be the fundamental object of all questions concerning university improvements.

## VII

In reality as we enter the second half of the 1970s the various circumstances that were presumed to be the primary causes of university reform from the 1960s through the first half of the 1970s have themselves begun to exhibit aspects of gradual change. The development of science and technology naturally continues today and is something which must be continued for the strength of the human race, but whether the simplistic advancement of an elemental ideology of science for its own sake will lie in mankind's future is now a question of fundamental importance.

In addition to this, there are signs that we are witnessing the limits to the bases for high economic growth and of the expansion of the university population. Simultaneously, the campuses have generally become calm and have been relieved of their former strains. Instead, we have a situation in which the problem has become the loss of objectives by young people.

Moreover, change has begun to permeate research systems and educational systems outside the university and has set off numerous tremors concerning the relative position of universities within society. These influences can be seen among other things in the increased role being played by research institutes and research organs in the development of science and technology, in the diversification and expansion of the term "higher education" to include the concept of "post-secondary education," and in the approaching trend toward lifelong education and the learning society. The prestige of the university can generally be said to have remained high but the reasons for this prestige are becoming

problematic. Feelings and expectations toward the university are changing in conjunction with which it is not at all unlikely that the public financial burden demanded by the universities as they expanded during the period of university growth will begin to appear rather heavy. The university in relation to the population of the 1980s will in a certain sense be in a rather different position than it was with regard to the population of the 1970s.

VIII

That singular period of the university from the 1960s until the beginning of the 1970s is in this sense taking its last dying breath and the university of the 1980s will develop under startlingly different conditions. The present problem is what this means for the university. For the time being, one of the key points involves how the so-called traditional university will relate to a "higher education" expanded and diffused to mean lifelong education but there is no single pattern by which one should think about this relationship. It involves problems of choice that must be responsive to the customs and realities of individual societies. Yet no matter what forms are eventually worked out, the university will almost certainly deepen its interaction with lifelong education. This will certainly give rise to problems and opportunities for the specialized university of the 1960s and the 1970s to take on a rather different character. And if the traditional university does not disappear in the face of such a trend, and continues more or less as the "university" of old, the interaction itself will inevitably force a clarified re-identification of the university. When compared to the 1960s and 1970s this is a problem that will demand much more fundamental self-reflection and self-analysis.

# HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM, INNOVATION, AND EXPERIMENT:
## PROSPECTS FOR THE 1980s

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When I first sat down to write this paper, I began by drawing up a long list of external issues that were likely to affect higher education, innovation, and reform during the 1980s. But then, as I started to examine each issue, I found that I was continually looking back to the 1960s and 1970s for clues as to what the next decade will bring. This exercise convinced me that no one can chart an accurate map of the future without first understanding the past. To put it more simply: We cannot know where we are headed unless we first know where we have come from. More important, we cannot hope to control our future unless we first understand our past successes and failures. Accordingly, this essay will consider the lessons of the past two decades as a basis for charting a possible course for the 1980s.

At the outset I want to emphasize that most of my research has focused on higher education in the United States, so not all my analyses and prognostications will apply to the situation in other countries. Nevertheless, my recent travels abroad convince me that many of the concerns expressed here are shared by educators in other developed countries.

### Lessons of the 1960s

The popular image of the 1960s as a time of great change for higher education is to some extent erroneous. Although many innovations and reforms were introduced during this decade, relatively few of them have lasted; in some ways, higher education is remarkable resistant to change.

Let us first consider some of the changes that have lasted. Aside from

the great expansion of enrollments, perhaps the most important changes are in the area of student power and autonomy. During the 1960s students were more actively involved in the institutional decision-making process. For instance, at many institutions they were given complete authority over student judiciary bodies, which before had typically been controlled by administrators and faculty. In addition, students were routinely made members of various faculty committees and, at some institutions, were added to the board of trustees.

Along with greater power came greater autonomy over their own affairs. During the 1960s most institutions – public and private – virtually abandoned any attempt to stand in loco parentis, the traditional position of the college toward its students. No longer did administrators try to monitor student behavior, particularly with respect to drinking and sexual activity. A related innovation that went largely unnoticed – though it has potentially profound significance for students – is coeducational living. Whereas young men and women had previously been segregated in separate residence facilities and not allowed to intermingle except under highly controlled conditions, students of both sexes were now permitted to share residence halls, and in many instances, to live in adjacent rooms.

The important point about these innovations is that they were more or less forced upon institutions. They represent responses to student pressures and demands rather than the implementation of a conscious educational plan. While the coeducational dormitory is a possible exception to this generalization, it should be recognized that the concept of coeducational living would never have been widely accepted had colleges and universities not given up trying to monitor and control the student's sexual conduct.

Institutions also adopted certain reforms and innovations in response to pressures from special interest groups.[1] Black students, for example, demanded and were often granted changes in admissions policies, faculty and staff recruitment practices, and curricula. Special concessions were made to low-income students, primarily in the form of need-based financial aid programs.

Taking a superficial view, one might be tempted to see the 1960s as a period of great *educational* innovation as well. A number of experimental colleges sprang up around the country, and a wide range of pedagogical in-

novations were introduced: contract learning, cooperative education, free electives, team teaching, interdisciplinary studies, pass-fail grading practices, and so forth.

Looking more critically at these educational innovations, however, one must conclude that they were either transitory or simply cosmetic changes which did not really affect educational practices at most institutions. Many of the experimental colleges that came into being during the 1960s no longer exist; others have been absorbed by more traditional institutions. Specific examples are New College in Sarasota, Florida; Johnston College in Redlands, California; and the "experimental colleges" of several research universities. Most innovative programs that survived are associated with *new public institutions* created during the 1960s (e.g., Empire State College in New York, Evergreen State University in Washington, and the Santa Cruz campus of the University of California).

In my opinion, the innovations of the 1960s were possible primarily because higher education was growing so rapidly that new courses, programs, and institutions could be *added on* with little difficulty. They did not constitute major changes in mainline academic programs. It is probably fair to say that the today's college students are exposed to much the same program of studies and pedagogical approach as were their counterparts in the 1950s.

Several years ago I conducted a study to determine why the basic academic programs of the nation's colleges and universities are so resistant to innovation and reform.[2] From this study it was possible to develop a tentative theory of "academic conservatism," which maintains that institutional conservatism derives from the interplay of at least three factors: the structure and function of institutions, the traditional roles and personal dispositions of administrators and faculty members, and the demands of the larger society. Of these, the most potent single force for conservatism is the faculty.

The faculty role is characterizeed by personal and professional autonomy. Faculty members usually have considerable freedom in deciding what to teach, how to teach it, what to study, how to study it, and how to allocate their time. Their autonomy increases with seniority and tenure. Naturally enough, faculty members value this autonomy highly and guard jealously against attempts to take it away.

Administrators generally accept the notion that faculty autonomy must

be protected at all costs. Indeed, many administrators say that they themselves have no real power: They merely carry out the will of the faculty. As a result, administrators usually refuse to act on any proposal without first running it through the cumbersome faculty review and advisory mechanisms. Thus, almost any proposal for change in the educational program must first win faculty approval.

A central notion in the theory of academic conservatism is that the background and training of most academics incline them to reject innovation. Graduate training in almost all disciplines emphasizes the development of "critical thinking." Graduate students are rewarded for demonstrating their critical abilities in papers, seminars, and oral examinations; faculty members are rewarded for displaying their critical skills in faculty meetings, committee meetings, and departmental colloquia. As a consequence of this tradition, when confronted with any proposal for change, the natural inclination of most faculty members is initially to look for its defects.

This institutional conservatism does not go unnoticed by those progressive faculty members who might be sympathetic to the need for innovation and reform. Indeed, most of them will readily admit that "it's hard to get anything changed around here." Ironically, their recognition of the difficulty exacerbates the problem in that it creates an atmosphere of pessimism, a pervasive belief that significant change is either impossible or, at best, very difficult to achieve. And, because they are convinced that their efforts will be futile, many faculty members are discouraged from actively supporting attractive innovations.

Conservative faculty tendencies are often intensified by pressures from external agencies such as state legislatures, budget offices, and coordinating boards. Thus, the trend toward centralized planning and budgeting (at least for public higher education) and the increased emphasis on accountability have served to reinforce faculty conservatism. No matter how it is presented, such "central coordination" is interpreted as a threat to autonomy, causing faculty to rush to the defense of the status quo and to reject innovation. As a consequence of all these forces, any proposal for change has a dubious chance of being accepted in most institutions.

To summarize: the experience of the 1960s taught us three valuable lessons about innovation and reform in higher education:

1. A major obstacle to innovation and change is faculty conservatism.
2. Institutions *can* change, but such changes are usually imposed upon the institution by external agencies rather than developed internally as part of a rational educational plan.
3. Many so-called innovations in higher education were introduced as "add-ons" rather than as changes in basic educational practices and policies. Such add-ons are very difficult to achieve when the higher educational system is not in a state of rapid expansion.

**Lesson of the 1970s**

The decade of the 1970s has been labeled a period of "retrenchment," which means simply that the rapid expansion enjoyed by higher education during the 1960s slowed down and that financial support for higher education was somewhat reduced.

One significant development during the 1970s was that higher education lost its high position on the list of national priorities. This decline in prestige is perhaps best illustrated by Richard Freeman's controversial book, *The Over-educated American,* the main themes of which are as follows:

- A college degree is much less valuable than it used to be.
- The country suffers from an oversupply of college-trained people.
- Job opportunities for college graduates are scarcer now than they have ever been.
- Even those graduates who manage to find jobs are "underemployed": that is, they work at routine jobs that are beneath their talent and training.

While I personally believe that the empirical basis for Freeman's argument is totally without merit,[3] what troubles me most is that not only politicians but also many educators accepted these assertions uncritically.

Another salient issue during the 1970s was the financing of higher education. In the face of stable or even declining enrollments, many college administrators have had to institute more systematic budgeting and planning procedures. In many instances, however, they adopted procedures from business that were simply inappropriate when applied to educational institutions.[4] Again, we have here an example of external pressures forcing institutions to adopt reforms, but in this instance the reforms probably did little to enhance the institution's educational *effectiveness.*

A closely related issue concerns the academic job market: Because the growth rate of higher education slowed down during the 1970s, large numbers of doctorate-level graduates, who in the past traditionally took faculty jobs, could no longer find academic employment. Declining institutional resources and the uncertainties of academic employment thus gave the impetus to still another change: the introduction of collective bargaining and unionization to the campus. Many faculty members saw fit to band together in collective bargaining units which, they hoped, would assure their job security. Again, there is little evidence to suggest that these changes improved institutions, and some reason to believe that they contributed to a decline in the quality of education offered.[5)]

But perhaps the most significant social development of the 1970s was the profound change in the role and status of women. Not only did larger proportions of women in many developed countries avail themselves of higher education, but also many of them pursued careers in fields that were formerly reserved almost exclusively for men: business, law, medicine, and engineering. In the United States, the increased participation rates of women were all the more remarkable in that the participation rates of men actually declined slightly during the 1970s. My impression is that virtually every developed country in the world has witnessed similar increases in the participation rates of women. It seems to me, however, that even though U. S. institutions welcomed the increased enrollments of women as a means of protecting their own financial security, most of them have failed to realize fully the potential significance of these increases and thus have also failed to alter their programs and policies in ways that would better accommodate the needs of this student clientele. Thus, despite some successful efforts to recruit more women faculty, most institutions in the United States are still administered almost exclusively by -- and for – men.

The 1970s also witnessed a substantial increase in the enrollments of racial minorities in American higher education. These increases actually began in the late 1960s and continued well into the 1970s. The presence of these new groups spurred institutions to introduce certain innovations such as ethnic studies programs, special admissions programs, and minority student associations, but mainline academic programs and policies remained largely unaffected.

The influx of women and racial minorities into American higher education during the 1970s was accompanied by increased governmental activity to insure that the needs of these new constituencies would be met by higher education institutions. Here we have still another instance where changes in institutional policies and practices were brought about by external pressures: Instead of responding directly to the challenge posed by increased enrollments of minorities and women, many institutions in the United States had to be prodded by the federal government before they made significant efforts to recruit more women and minorities on their faculties and staffs.

Three important lessons emerge from the experiences of the 1970s:

1. Higher education cannot take public support for granted. Rather, it must become much more conscious of the fact that its support depends in part on by how it is perceived by the larger society.
2. Higher education must get its financial house in order without sacrificing quality. Unless it pays closer attention to fiscal solvency and to long-term fiscal planning that protects and strengthens the quality of programs offered, higher education will remain highly vulnerable to the uncertainties of national and international economies.
3. The view of academic institutions as self-governing "communities of scholars" is more fantasy than reality. If they are to preserve their autonomy, academic institutions must find ways to *anticipate* external demands rather than simply to react to such demands on a political level.

**Issues for the 1980s**

This brief account of higher education during the last two decades suggests that, if higher education is to strengthen its capacity for constructive innovation and reform and not continue to be victimized by external events in the next decade, educators and politicians must confront five issues:

- the public view of higher education
- institutional diversity
- institutional autonomy
- quality and standards
- new clientele

Although I will discuss each of these issues separately, it is important to keep in mind that they are closely interrelated. Thus, how we deal with

one is likely to affect the others.

**The Public View of Higher Education**

In my judgment, the fate of higher education in the next decade will depend primarily on how the public views higher education. This is a minority view, in that most commentators seem to think that inflation, the energy crisis, and international events will be the most significant factors. I do not mean to underestimate these factors, but simply to say that educators and governing boards will have little, if any, control over such events. Regardless of how the national economy fares or of what happens to the international situation during the 1980s, the government of most of the developed countries will not be willing to provide support for higher education unless the public at large also supports it.

I feel strongly that educators in all the developed countries would be well advised to invest a significant proportion of their energies in dispelling the myth of "overeducation" and in promoting the many positive values of higher education. It is not enough simply to point out the many technical flaws in the economic argument that people are being "overeducated." We must also challenge the values implied in such an argument: namely, that life-time earnings or "rates of return" constitute the only important outcome of the higher learning. Even if a college degree conferred *no* economic benefits on the recipient, many people would still go to college. Our own research[6] and that many others[7] suggests that the college experience carries many non-economic benefits: Students develop a more positive self-image, a wider range of competencies, a greater sense of intellectual and interpersonal confidence, and more tolerant attitudes toward others. Those who argue that our citizens are "overeducated" are, in effect, asking us to discount all these other benefits. I think professional educators can make a much stronger case for a very different view: that if more of our fellow citizens took advantage of the opportunities for learning and personal development offered by a college education, the quality of life in general would improve greatly.

Perhaps the most frightening consequence of the notion of "over-education" is that it gives budget-conscious politicians a ready-made victim when costs must be cut. If one accepts the idea that too many people are getting a college education, then it is relatively simple to argue that public support

for higher education should be reduced.

What makes higher education an especially vulnerable target for ambitious politicians is the difficulty that persons who support higher education seem to have trouble in banding together to present a united front. Virtually every other major social institution in the developed countries of the world – be it business, labor, the military, or whatever – has an effective lobbying capability which protects it in times of budgetary austerity. Until it has mounted a similar capability, higher education will continue to be dependent upon the support and good will of the public.

**Institutional Diversity**

The higher educational system in the most developed countries comprise many different kinds of institutions presumably serving different purposes. Diversity, of course, provides an important basis for innovation and reform, since a homogeneous system tends to impose a single set of values. Although the United States has long prided itself on the diversity of its higher education system, that diversity has been seriously compromized in recent years, not only because many private institutions are threatened with extinction, but also because of more ominous trends which must be recognized and dealt with. For example, during the past 20 years, certain types of institutions – teachers colleges, technological institutes, and other special-purpose schools – have virtually disappeared. Most institutions in the United States, it would seem, have come to adopt a "liberal arts" curriculum. But why should this be so? Why should institutions sacrifice their uniqueness and merely imitate each other? I think the answer lies partly in the nature of the American system. Higher education in the United States and, indeed, in many other developed countries, is strongly hierarchical, with a few highly prestigious institutions occupying the top echelon, a somewhat larger group of reasonably well regarded institutions in the middle, and a large group of relatively unknown and nonprestigious institutions occupying the lowest position. In the United States, California has developed a hierarchical approach which has become a model for many other states. This vertical diversity, it seems to me, serves to inhibit rather than foster true diversity in educational programs and practices. Complacent about their position and fearful of jeopardizing it, universities at the top of the hierarchy have no incentive to adopt innovative programs. At the

same time, institutions lower down in the hierarchy, being insecure in their inferior status, are fearful of innovation and merely imitate the "leaders" in the hope of improving their own position. In other words, vertical diversity encourages homogeneity and discourages innovation and reform. While I have no magical solutions to offer for this problem, I do think it is time for educators in all developed countries to scrutinize their institutional structure, giving particular attention to the existence of hierarchical arrangements and the effects of such arrangements on innovation and reform.

**Institutional Autonomy**

The experiences of the past two decades convince me that the "ivory tower" model of higher education is simply no longer tenable. Paradoxically, institutions can best protect their autonomy by undertaking more self-directed innovation and change. I am not overly impressed by the kinds of "innovations" that have been forced upon institutions by outside constituencies. While my theory of institutional conservatism suggests that self-initiated change and reform will not be easy, there would seem to be no viable alternative if institutions really wish to preserve what autonomy they still enjoy.

**Quality and Standards**

Closely related to the issue of innovation and change is the issue of quality and standards. As politicians and the general public begin to question the value and efficacy of higher education, it becomes incumbent upon educational leaders to develop better ways of protecting and strengthening the quality of their programs. Public interest in quality control in the United States is already well established at the secondary school level, where the majority of states have recently instituted "competency testing" as a way to protect against declining standards. Rather than waiting for a similar set of requirements to be imposed from the outside, higher education leaders would be well advised to consider ways of developing their own quality controls, thus obviating the need for controls imposed from the outside.

Quality control is also related to the issue of evaluation. During the 1970s, evaluations of federally funded programs in higher education became very popular, and the evaluation mentality is still common. What is perhaps most frustrating about this orientation is that it is almost always directed at new

or innovative programs. Why is not the status quo put to the same test? Apparently, one can avoid having a program evaluated as long as one does not change it. But as soon as changes are proposed -- particularly innovative changes --then the program becomes instantly subject to evaluation to see if it is "effective."

This view grossly distorts the function of evolution. The fundamental purpose of any evaluative study is to determine the effectiveness of a particular educational program. Making a distinction between old programs and new programs is neither necessary nor legitimate. In other words, faculty and administrators in academe need to subject their conventional and time-honored practices to the same kind of careful scrutiny that innovative programs must endure.

**New Clienteles**

There is little question that the higher education systems in some of the developed countries will be forced to accept new clienteles if they are to cope effectively with the demographic changes that will occur in the 1980s. In the United States, for example, the college-age population will include much higher proportions of Chicano and black students than it did in earlier years. If our institutions insist upon conducting business as usual, it is unlikely that these minority students will be well served. The same can be said for other "nontraditional" groups that will be needed to prop up declining enrollments in other countries: older students, women, and part-time students, for example. The new demands imposed upon higher education by these new clienteles should, I feel, be regarded not as annoyances but as opportunities. It stands to reason that these new types of students will need different types of programs and may benefit from new pedagogical approaches. Higher education institutions should take advantage of the challenges offered by trying out new approaches.

**Summary**

In the final analysis, the theme or watchword for higher education in the 1980s ought to be "uncertainty." The increasingly diverse student populations to be served represent one source of this uncertainty, but there are a number of other sources to be reckoned with. Will the public image of higher education continue to decline, or will academics take the initiative to reverse

this trend? Will the quality of institutional programs continue to be vulnerable to economic trends, or will administrators and faculty become more sophisticated in planning for various economic contingencies? Will institutions continue to be respond passively to outside political pressures, or will they learn how to anticipate, and plan effective responses to, societal demands before the solutions are imposed upon them. Will higher education wait to have arbitrary quality standards imposed upon it, or will it develop its own internal mechanisms for quality control? In short, are we going to continue to allow our affairs to be manipulated by external events, or are we going to take charge of our own destinies?

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# V

# INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON

# JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE 1980s: CONTINUTY AND CHANGE

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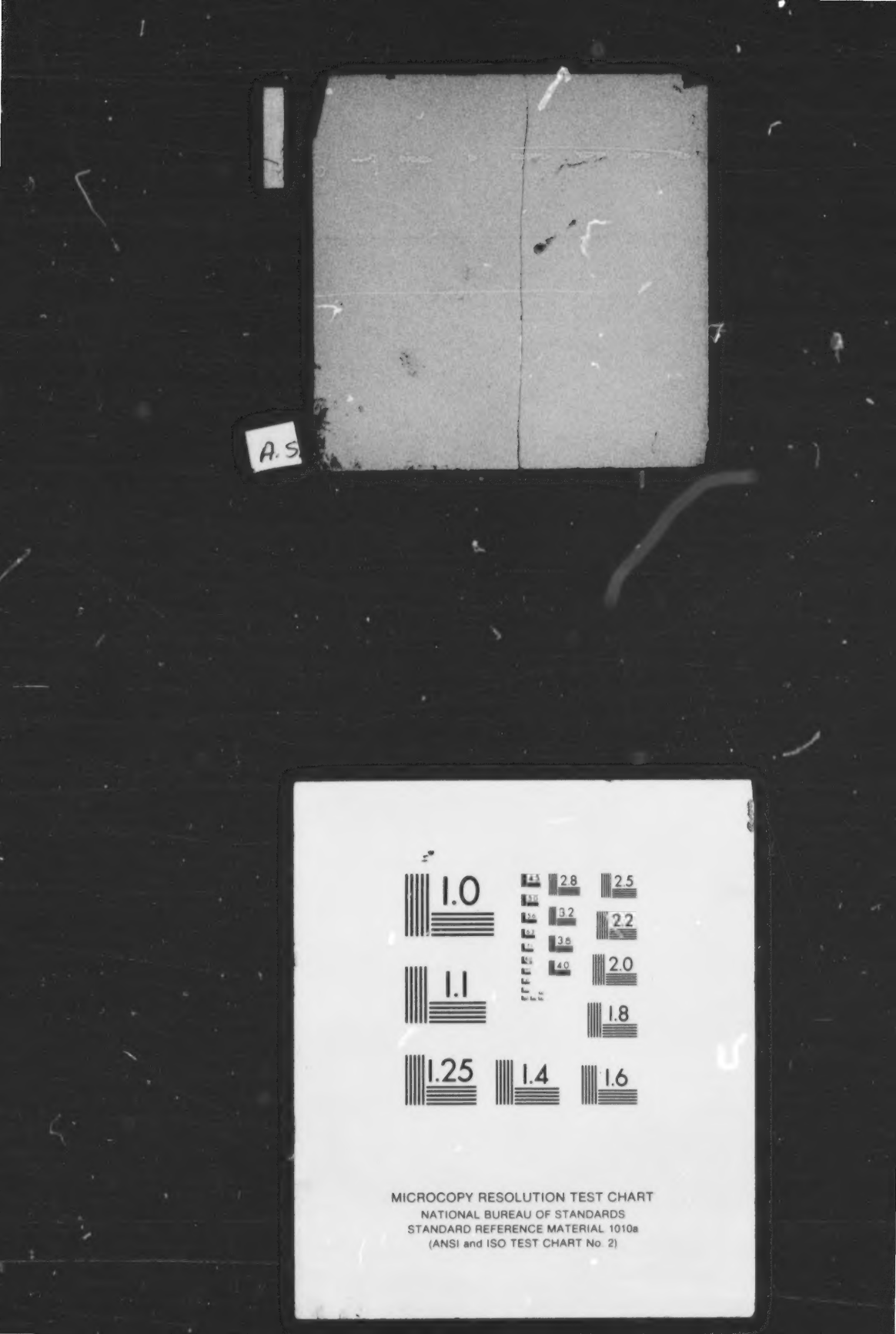
As far as Japanese higher education is concerned, entry into the decade of the 1980s seems to be much quieter than that to the 1970s. Retrospectively, one can characterize the period of transition from the 1960s to the 1970s as one of idealism and enthusiasm for reform which came in response to the general upheaval in universities throughout that period. However, as the decade of the 1970s unfolded, as the atmosphere of the campuses quieted, and as university life became "normalized", the idealism and enthusiasm of the previous decade also diminished. What remained towards the end of the 1970s was either apathy regarding any changes, or moderate realism in approaches to reform. Nevertheless, idealism did not disappear totally. This new decade of the 1980s, at least in its early years, will be a continuation of the state of affairs which characterized the 1970s. And, it is on this mood of moderate realism, along with tempered idealism, that prospects for the reform of Japanese higher education in the 1980s rely.

The policies of moderate realism typically find expression in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee for the Study of Higher Education, a committee which has been chaired by Mr. Isao Amagi. This committee's objective is to formulate, on behalf of the Ministry of Education, guidelines for higher education policies for the decade 1976-1986. These basic policies were articulated in 1971 by the Ministry's Central Council on Education. As far as pertains to higher education, the Council's recommendations included the following points:

1) the diversification of the higher education system to meet the quantitative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STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

increase in the higher education population as well as to safeguard the quality of higher education against general dilution of financial and personal resources.

2) the internal reform of higher education institutions towards more effective administration, teaching, and research.
3) assistance to private institutions through public funds.
4) reform of the entrance examination system.
5) the necessity of implementing long-range national planning of higher education.

The Ad Hoc Committee, which was more directly responsible for the last recommendation of the Council, presented its most recent interim report in June 1979. This report covered the development of Japanese higher education for the period of 1981-1986, thus following up on its previous 1976 report which covered the period 1976-1980. In summary, the Committee characterizes the first half of the 1980s as a fairly stable period for the higher education population. However, in the latter half of the 1980s, a population increase in higher education is expected. In the meantime, taking advantage of the relative population stability during the first half of the 1980s, efforts will be directed towards the qualitative improvement of higher education. This effort will take the form of diversification of the higher education system and the decentralization of higher education institutions. In regard to the enrollment rate in higher education, the Committee sets forth 37% as the maximam rate. Within this limit, students are to be distributed throughout different types of higher education institutions which include not only traditional universities and colleges but also various forms of post-secondary institutions which will be qualitatively equivalent to colleges. These institutions are to encompass a wider geographical region. Up to the present, the geographical distribution of students in higher education has been very poorly balanced due to the heavy concentration of higher education institutions in major cities and metropolitan areas.

While drawing up this plan, the Ad Hoc Committee made a careful study of various factors affecting the development of higher education. These factors include population trends (which are predictable within this time period) as well as other factors which are less easily predictable. Certainly one of the most difficult variables is the future attitude of the general public towards

higher education. This attitude is deeply rooted in Japanese social and cultural values, but it inevitably is affected by temporal social and economic conditions. Thus, the Committee's ceiling of 37% in the higher education population can be taken only as a general policy guideline for the present government. Since political consensus is most difficult to achieve in regard to education, and since future education policies depend somewhat on prevailing political perspectives, a variety of possiblities remains open for the future development of higher education policies. Certainly there is no chance of a return to the elitist higher education policies of the past. However, the 37% maximum increase limit easily can be raised by supporters of universal higher education. Since there is no clear evidence that political, social and economic conditions will differ radically from those of the 1970s we tentatively can accept the assumptions and estimates of the Ad Hoc Committee, and we shall proceed to trace the government policies which were implemented during the 1970s. On the basis of this, we shall speculate regarding developments during the 1980s.

One of the most notable developments in the 1970s was the creation of what I call "third generation universities". This term is used to differentiate these institutions from the so-called first and second generation universities. The first generation universities are those which were established, fully or in part, as full-fledged universities by the end of World War II. Although they were reorganized in 1949 along the same lines as the second generation universities, these first generation universities still enjoy a privileged academic status. The second generation universities are those which either have been reorganized and

| | National | Local/public | Private | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First generation univ. | 17 | 2 | 27 | 46 |
| ( ) with graduate programs | (17) | (2) | (27) | (46) |
| Second generation univ. | 58 | 30 | 246 | 334 |
| ( ) with graduate programs | (52) | (18) | (119) | (189) |
| Third generation univ. | 17 | 1 | 45 | 63 |
| ( ) with graduate programs | (3) | (0) | (11) | (14) |
| Total | 92 | 33 | 318 | 443 |
| | (72) | (20) | (157) | (239) |

upgraded from pre-war college or post-secondary level institutions, or which were established between 1949 and 1969. While the third generation universities include newly created national, public and private institutions, the seventeen national universities in this category most typically represent the characteristics of the third generation universities. As of 1979, figures for these three generations of universities are as shown in the table (p.96).

These third generation universities include: the multi-disciplinary Tsukuba University which was established in 1973, two Universities of Education at Hyogo and Joetsu established in 1978, twelve Medical Universities established between 1973 and 1978, and the University of Library Science established in 1979. Of course, some of these newer universities particularly in the area of their graduate programs, still remain to be fully developed in the early 1980s. In addition, preparation for the new University of the Air has been going on since the mid 1970s, but its actual establishment is yet to be worked out. Except for the medical universities, the establishment of which was due more to the shortage of medical doctors than to other factors, these third generation universities all are experimental in nature and are designated as "shinkansen/ shinkoso" (new) universities. What is new in comparison with the first and second generation universities is the centralized university administration, the flexible faculty organization, the organizational division between teaching and research, and the introduction of new approaches to teaching. These special features also are shared by the newly founded medical universities.

In contrast to the third generation national universities, the public and private universities which are classified as third generation by virtue of their being newly founded generally are similar to the second generation institutions. This similarity can be detected in their administration, in their organization, and in their programs and, thus, they may not be third generation universities in the true sense of the term. However, one distinguishing feature of these institutions is that most of them are located outside of the major metropolises, in regional cities where higher education institutions scarcely existed. This relocation phenomenon partially is in response to government policy based on the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee of 1979 which urged a remedy for the geographical imbalance of higher education institutions.

Creation of these new, third generation universities is intended to have some impact on existing first and second generation universities. Although

only slight changes can be detected in the administration and faculty organization of the first and second generation universities, some improvements have been made in certain programs, particularly on the graduate level. Those first generation universities which already offered graduate programs through the doctoral level further expanded and improved these during the 1970s. The *Graduate School Standards* spelled out in 1974 specified the nature of the master's program as a program for advanced professional training in addition to its traditional function of providing training for research. This specification stimulated the development of master's level graduate programs in many of the second generation universities. Some of these universities went further and set up doctoral programs and began to achieve parity with the first generation universities in terms of academic quality. As for the rest of the second generation universities, they remain as undergraduate institutions meeting the ever-growing demand for quality undergraduate higher education.

As mentioned earlier, there is reason to believe that the above described situation will carry over to the 1980s. The first generation universities will continue to serve as the academic centers of the nation, training a select group of students in both undergraduate and graduate programs. And, some well developed second generation universities will rise to the level of the first generation universities. As for the rest of the second generation universities, they will continue to serve the masses of students by offering professional training on both the undergraduate and master's level, and by providing liberal arts oriented undergraduate programs.

In contrast to a fairly consistent future for four-year colleges and universities, the situation of the junior colleges appears somewhat uncertain. During the 1970s the junior colleges developed both in quality and quantity, and during the 1980s they will continue to serve a large number of students by offering short-term semiprofessional training as well liberal arts programs. Nevertheless, in the coming years some prospective students may be attracted by a four-year college/university education carrying greater prestige. Or, other prospective students may opt for technical or vocational colleges offering very practical/utilitarian training. During the 1970s many private junior colleges (the majority of junior colleges are private) were reorganized and up-graded to four-year colleges.

And, at the same time, those which remained as junior colleges developed

more diversified and specialized programs. We can expect that both of these trends will continue into the 1980s. The vocational colleges which were granted this status in 1976 seem to have been attracting fairly large numbers of young as well as older students because of the immediate utility of their programs. Whether these vocational colleges will be given their proper place in the higher education system remains to be seen in the 1980s.

Any discussion of Japanese higher education is incomplete without due attention to the private universities and colleges. It goes without saying that they constitute a vitally important sector of the Japanese higher education process. While private institutions are more than supplementary to the national and public institutions by offering unique programs unavailable elsewhere, in a very positive sense they do supplement the national and public institutions' efforts in meeting the increasing demand for higher education opportunities. During the 1960s a large role was played by the private colleges and universities at the time of increased enrollment in higher education. However, in many cases, this expansion came about at the expense of quality. Thus, during the 1970s, some private universities (among which were certain newly established medical universities) became the target of public criticism because of their dubious quality.

Obviously, one of the pressing problems facing private institutions is a weak financial base – a financial base which has depended heavily on students' fees. In order to alleviate this situation, in 1975 the government began to provide some assistance from national funds. Hence, by the end of the 1970s the percentage of national assistance for the operating expenses for the totality of private universities and colleges had reached 27%. As the private institutions face further operating cost increases, national assistance may increase during the 1980s. However, such assistance may depend on the overall economic situation of the coming decade. The effect of national assistance remains to be seen, but undoubtedly the private institutions in the 1980s will play an increasingly important role in Japanese higher education. This development can be attributed to a more solid financial base along with higher quality teaching and research.

In summary, we can expect the development of Japanese higher education in the 1980s to proceed along the following lines. In general outlines, the

decade of the 1980s will be a continuation of the 1970s and will carry further what already was established in the 1970s. We can expect some continuity as well as change in the historically diversified higher educational institutions ranging from the first, second and third generation universities to the junior colleges and other post-secondary institutions. While some may be reclassified in the course of their development, each type of institution will continue to serve different kinds of needs within higher education. Among these institutions, the further development of third generation universities which are experimental in nature will be worth noticing. The state will take initative in planning and developing, particularly through the establishment of new types of state institutions as well as through financial assistance to private universites. As the financial base for private institutions in secured, these institutions' educational significance likewise will grow.

So far in this paper we have traced changes emanating from within the Japanese higher education system. But, we cannot ignore those changes which are coming about through the increased rate and intensity of contact with the international educational community. And, it is in this connection that a comment of the internationalization of Japanese higher education is in order. As is well known, Japanese higher education from its very inception drew on the academic resources of other countries, especially on resources from the West. Western science, technology and the humanities were introduced, for the most part, through Japanese institutions of higher education. However, only accepting certain elements from other cultures does not constitute internationalization and can end up being one-sided. Equally important are the desire and the means to participate in the worldwide academic community. After Japan's economic boom in the 1960's, she was expected to contribute more to the international community and came under fire for failure to live up to some sector's expectations. Even Japanese higher education came under fire for its narrow perspectives. Such criticism was explicit in the 1971 OECD *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Japan.* The Ministry of Education's Central Council on Education began to examine the question and in its 1974 report, *International Exchanges in Education, Culture and Science,* the Council called for improvements in this area. Specific points includes the following:

1) the strengthening of education for international understanding.
2) improvement of foreign language programs.

3) internationalization of universities and colleges.
4) increased exchange of students, teachers and researchers.
5) promotion of Japanese language instruction for foreigners.
6) educational assistance to developing countries.
7) provision for overseas and returning Japanese children and youths.

Later in the 1970's certain changes were perceptible both in national and private institutions of higher education. The well publicized phenomenon of Japanese youngsters returning from overseas (the kikoku shijo) began to reflect both structural and attitudinal problems in Japan's higher education system. Specifically, the returnee situation reflected institutions' limited ability to receive persons with different academic as well as cultural experience. There have, however, been certain promising responses to the Japanese returnees in that some institutions are showing signs of more flexibility in meeting returnees' needs. Certain internationally oriented programs are apt to match the interests and experiences of returnees. Also, growing interest in and cautious acceptance of the International Baccalaureate alleviates some of the rigidity of the present entrance examination system and may even have further reformative impact on the entrance examination system. Also promising is the fact that the question of foreign scholars' possible tenure at national universities has been raised. Clearly, if there is to be genuine internationalization in Japanese higher education, the wider international context must be considered in dealing with administrative and educational aspects of the Japanese higher education process.

In conclusion, Japanese higher education in the 1980's will benefit from the stability of continuity and the further development of presently existing institutions. At the same time, cautious departure from established patterns will bring about constructive changes suited to Japan's domestic situation as well as to her position in the world community of the comming decade.

# HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE 1980s:
## CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

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In this paper I have endeavoured to locate the kinds of changes likely to have an effect on the university community at large rather than to confine myself to Australian universities. In it, I anticipate that the over-riding development in the 1980s will be the greater 'politicization' of higher education. It will be argued that nations everywhere are undergoing a period of considerable social change, that this is leading to much uncertainty and instability, with a consequent questioning of the roles and functions of national institutions. The outcome, insofar as universities are concerned, is that they will be expected to conform more and more with prevailing social norms. The major task of the universities will be that of developing the means and strategies for responding appropriately to these changing expectations.

David Riesman some years ago described the second half of this century as the age of discontinuities. His is perhaps the only forecast I am aware of that has proved correct and it explains why forecasting for us lesser mortals is so hazardous. I think you will agree that the one rock on which forecaster, planners and crystal ball gazers have been wrecked with spectacular regularity is the unpredictability of the future in that even a description of alternative futures is a difficult operation. I have been asked to undertake just such a task and so expect, in five years' time, to join the wreckage of my predecessors.

The major reason for this failure at forecasting and planning is the complexity of our present environment. The Neo-Marxists would like us to believe that all institutions, including universities, act in response to the political situation. I would go further and say that both political systems and higher education systems are conditioned to a wider complex of environmental factors,

most of which are beyond control at the local or national political levels. The changing world economic situation, particularly the new imbalances created by the oil crises and the imperialist policies of the oil-rich nations, the great instability of governments, particularly in the developing countries but also in the rest of the non-communist world (and in the communist world a change of leadership can be at least as traumatic as a change of government elsewhere) are but two of the discontinuities confronting us. With change come periods of instability and uncertainty. This, in turn, causes leaders, in order to ensure survival, to attempt to use the system to provide quick, demonstrably popular rewards. Hence immediate issues rather than long term objectives tend to prevail. Institutions, such as universities, with objectives less immediately attainable do not fare well in this kind of environment.

This social change is being accentuated by the increasing 'democratization' of societies leading to a pluralism which challenges existing values, causes confrontation and creates demands often of an irreconcilable kind. Our societies are composed of many groups, all claiming equal rights, all making competing and conflicting claims on government. This constitutes a strong challenge to the present democracies, particularly those with forms of government which rest on a two- or at most a three-party system. The numbers of interest groups, either seeking legislative representation or seeking influence over government policies could, if pushed much harder, make the system unworkable. Governments might well be facing a crisis of legitimacy; by their own democratic processes, they may lose the generalized, normative social support which makes the act of government possible. Not surprisingly the politician will endeavour to seek the causes in the educational system rather than the political structures. As one Australian senator wrote recently in an article entitled "Putting Education on a Course of Survival", one of the issues is "the difficulty of defining a common culture and deriving a acceptable consensus about educational ends and means within this common culture".[1)]

In the 1980s this major social and political, rather than educational, issue will be the ability to define the 'common culture' and derive 'acceptable consensus'. Universities, however, will also necessarily be drawn into the controversy since they are agents of government being, in the main, funded by governments, and also one of the major causes of this increasing pluralism. Universities have long been centres for the questioning of established values and traditions;

they have been the locus in developing countries for revolutionary movements, whether against colonial rulers or against governments which have replaced them. It needs to be realized that governments and universities are linked in a more complex and subtle way than the popular idea of the universities being but a financial beneficiary. In the 1980s I anticipate that the interaction between them will increase and become more complex. Financial constraints will not be the prime cause but rather a symptom of strained relationships brought about by the questioning of universities by governments and the dilemmas of those governments in the wider social arena.

When governments and their civil service are under pressure, their response is likely to be to show, in an exaggerated form, how well they are doing their job. Just as they are being called to account, so they in turn will call others. Hence, I see no decline in governmental pressures for accountability. Though one would hope it would develop beyond the stage of seeking quantifiable and publishable data which tell little if anything about whether universities are fulfilling their central functions, the movement is more likely to be in the direction of delving more and more into the detailed aspects of university affairs.

Governments and civil servants will continue to find it easy to press for this kind of accountability. Though they are being challenged, they have successfully deflected much of the criticism away from themselves and, with the mass media and popular opinion, have joined in a tirade of catchcries against the universities which will continue into the next decade. Universities have been blamed for the excesses to which technology and science have been applied; though hailed as solvers of social problems, they have unearthed more problems than they appear to have solved; they have been seen as undermining traditional values; they have failed to provide the training which would ensure well-paid jobs for all their graduates. Other issues will undoubtedly be found. At the same time they neither have nor are likely to have the industrial muscle or the degree of cohesiveness which would give them the strength to respond in this power-political environment. Universities have been re-active in this situation; they have not been able to evolve and apply strategies to counter it. While there is no change, governments and other groups will continue to gain political mileage from it.

The movement in this direction in the older nations has gained strength

from an unlikely source. Third World philosophy regarding universities is having a profound effect, if not on the practice, at least on the rhetoric of governments and the media in relation to universities. This Third World view is that universities are servants of the government of the day. The exact nature of the relationship is ill-defined as are other terms such as 'government' and 'community' but, to use an oft-quoted phrase from Third World literature, "universities should participate with governments as agents of national development." Again, 'national development' is not clearly defined but the simple and optimistic view is held that the universities should solve problems of hunger, disease and the inequalities of society. Universities are much maligned for their failure to do so. In fact, there is a curious conjunction of Third World writings about universities and that of the student movement of the Western World in the decade beginning in the mid-1960s. To both, universities are seen as elitist and undemocratic; their teachings are irrelevant, their research theoretical without practical value. If the political statements of Third World writers and leaders, now being initiated by similar groups in advanced nations, are indications of future intent, universities in the next decade may undergo considerable change. They will be expected to respond to the community. As one speaker at a UNESCO seminar on the topic has said, "The most important thing was that the community, with its limitations and potentials should, in one way or another, convey its message and that the educational institution should be capable of constantly rethinking its responses".[2] The speaker, an educator, did not seem to realize the significance of the change he was proposing. The issue at stake is whether universities should be at the forefront of knowledge, a condition which usually requires them to be ahead of popular thought of the day and hence in a state of tension with the *status quo*, or whether their leadership role should be abrogated and the universities become a partner, riding in tandem with popular opinion.

In the developed countries one already comes upon evidence of this Third World philosophy. Politicians are defending their political decisions on the ground that "this is what the community wants", even if at times it appears to the disinterested observer that 'the community' seems to be but a small but active pressure group, often at odds with the population at large. In Australia a national commission has recently been working on ways of making higher education more orientated to career preparation. Questions of prac-

ticability and relevance are often raised and one hears at times of the desirability of periods of productive labour for students.

One has to agree that the objectives of universities are to serve the community and that the Third World philosophy, though ignored more often than practised in the Third World, has given cause within our universities for a re-examination of our activities. As an example, many of the changes in and approaches to the training of people for the medical profession are an indirect outcome of this influence. At the same time if, in the next decade, universities attempt to respond in a simple way to the simple rhetoric of the politicians, they will be different and lesser institutions than they are now. I say lesser because the trend cuts across two essential concepts in universities which have caused them to serve their 'communities' very well in the past. The first relates to the actual 'community' served by a university, particularly those in modern technological societies; the second concerns the autonomy of universities and their relationship with the government of the day.

I write this paper for a conference being held in Japan, a conference at which representatives of eleven other nations are participating. Numerous such conferences are taking place all over the world on topics as diverse as can be imagined. Some will be on specific and practical problems such as the causes and cures of a disease in poultry; others can be on what appear to the layman as quite esoteric issues. Conferences, learned journals, visits are the means whereby universities serve an international community. It is a very important service. In this way a university functions like a two-way funnel, bringing to the nation or community in which it is located the knowledge and skills which the rest of the world has to offer but at the same time relaying to the wider world the contributions of its own community. The nature of our scientific, economic and social problems is such that they will need the combined wisdom of the world's researchers to deal with them. Yet a strong tendency, particularly in developing countries, is to deny this service. They view the present universities as products of colonialist times or of capitalist societies whereas, in essence, the modern university is a product of technological society. Many nations want to localize universities, to make them fully national institutions, staffed only by nationals and in some cases reviving a national language as the medium of instruction, even though there is no academic literature in the language.

There is also a trend to restrict cross-national exchanges of students. Such cultural isolationism is not confined to the developing countries. In the situation of stability in student numbers, which will be the situation for an increasing number of nations throughout the next decade, there will be limited mobility either upward or outward for academic staff. There will therefore be pressures to exclude foreign competition on the part of the university staffs. This is already evident in some countries. Governments too, as the financial supporters of universities, will see financial gain by placing impediments in the way of foreign students who are often, incorrectly, seen as a drain on the host nation's resources. Differential course fees and high visa fees are already making their appearance. With stable or decreasing populations and tight economic conditions, these trends will probably continue to the detriment of the universities and the communities they serve.

The issue of university autonomy has always been relative. Relationships between government and universities have, for example, been very different in countries influenced by the Napoleonic legal system from those influenced by Britain or the Scandinavian nations. The strong influence of the private sector in Japan and the United States has let to other patterns of relationship. Central to all of them has been, however, a relative freedom to pursue teaching and research with little direction from outside their own institution. They, in turn, were guided by the concept of academic freedom and there has been reasonable consensus on what this meant. In the future the academic's path may not be so easy. The processes of politicization referred to above, if they follow the development anticipated, will have increasing influences with much compromising of the concepts of university autonomy and academic freedom. The movement will probably be escalated by the universities themselves. The pluralism which marks our present day society is nowhere more apparent than in the universities themselves. One might say that the great impetus to the development of pluralism came from the questioning of traditional values and current practices which was the hallmark of the burgeoning schools of social science in the last two decades. Within universities, their large size, increasing diversity, competition for resources and deep cleavages in values, leave them with few areas where consensus is possible, while the very tradition of the autonomous individual academic as well as of the autonomous institution provides but a poor base for strong institutional leadership which might

effectively preserve the integrity of the university as an institution. Reduced autonomy, like the whittling down of the international character of universities, will result in a downgrading of the university role in society.

But history is not concerned with rightness or wrongness, with downgradings or otherwise. Those of us who believe in the democratic processes must expect the social environment to change and with it the institutions embedded in it. Universities have adapted with considerable success to the changing society. It is traditional to talk of their slowness and conservatism; it is doubtful if this assertion could stand up to close scrutiny. Their survival over centuries is testimony to their ease of adaptation. I hope and expect this to continue. What I have predicted is but a linear extension of present tendencies – an argument in fact, against my opening remarks on the discontinuities in our society. Linear predictions, like our efforts at planning, have rarely proved right. What I have set out to do, however, is to pinpoint the environmental pressures which seem to be developing and which will impinge on universities. I have done this in the hope that universities will not just respond but, as I wrote in the opening paragraph, respond appropriately.

I see no other issue of great consequence. In very broad terms, I anticipate that in 1990 universities will still be elitist, if for no other reason than that governments, inspite of their manifestos, will refuse to fund large sections of the population beyond the year of compulsory schooling. They may even be more elitist, in that governments, particularly in developing countries, may grow weary of performing the tightrope act of promising more places in higher education but having funds only for liberal arts type training, and then facing the prospect of increasing numbers of these graduates demanding well paid positions, usually in the government service. As populations stabilize, university populations will also stabilize. The predictions of large scale entry of mature age students is not likely to eventuate unless there are quite traumatic changes in social attitudes. Universities will also continue to be in a state of tension with their immediate communities if only because their research and information gathering will be of a different order and of wider perspective than what interests the general public. I predict also that universities will remain academic largely because they are the only institutions in society with this particular function and because most of the other social engineering functions which many wish to ascribe to them are done and will continue to be done

better by other agencies in society whose function it is to perform them.

There are other predictions which might more appropriately be termed the writer's hopes, even though there are appearing some indicators of concern within our society. The first is that the coming decade might see a new assertiveness on the part of universities in establishing a clear relationship and understanding with both the societies they serve and the governments of the day. There is need to establish the fact of interdependence of government and universities; governments need universities as much as universities need governments. Universities do have to be sensitive to their environments but to be dominated by them is to rob society of one of its strongest social organisations.

I would also like to think that in this reassessment of relationships there would come about a greater humility concerning what higher education institutions can achieve in society. This humility is needed on the part of governments, particularly those in doveloping countries, on the part of societies and on the part of universities themselves. To wish to turn them into places of social engineering is to have expectations of their members which go far beyond what can justifiably be expected from their present training and patterns of work. Nor will the problems of society be solved by the simple expedients of 'reforming' universities through the breaking down of departmental barriers so that an all-embaracing knowledge will emerge, through the translating of the institutions from urban to rural environments, or through transforming university academics so that they overcome their snobbishness and talk the language of the peasant. Universities and other significant groups within society need to determine a true identity for universities and hence of the functions they might be expected to perform. Tension between society and the universities would probably still remain but it would be an informed and healthy tension, not one fired by mutual misunderstanding and suspicion.

Another forecast which is more in the realm of hope than anticipation is that governments will accept the inevitable. This is that the young, wherever they might be, but particularly in the free environment of universities, will challenge traditional values, customs, political and social beliefs. It would be a happy prediction indeed that the future trend of government would be to create and foster an environment for this spirit of questioning and idealism rather than to resort to that much used term in many parts of the world, to

'control' students so that they cannot challenge the established order.

Finally we are witnessing a resurgence of a quest for faith, of a concern for values. In Muslim countries one sees a widespread return to the older traditional values of the Muslim faith. References to human rights appear daily in the media. The spate of protests by 'environmentalists' of all stripes and colours is something of which we are all aware. At times these movements may seem exasperatingly naive, but they do represent a concern with humanism which has largely been lost in our large, technological universities. I hopefully predict that universities in the 1980s will become the locus for the intellectual and affective exploration of this domain.

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# COPING WITH THE CRISIS:
## REVITALIZING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

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The university in modern industrial societies confronts a panoply of problems. Internal relations among faculty, students, staff and administration; teaching versus research; program design and innovation; faculty unionization; dormitory control; structural reform and a host of other concerns must be examined by the modern educator. But above and beyond the many traumas that torment them from within, universities in these societies must also confront two additional problems, the cources of which are almost totally outside their ivy-covered walls. The first of these is the growing fiscal crisis that confounds the governments in most of these countries; the second is the changing demographic picture, most notably the probable long term decline in the size of the university age group.

During the 1950s and 1960s government spending was almost uniformly up, both absolutely and in relation to the total GNP in most industrialized countries. Among the major beneficiaries of this trend were the institutions of higher education. Higher educational expenditures rose about three times in France, four times in the U. S. and England, six times in West Germany and ten times in Japan during the 15 year period, 1960-75. In most instances those increases outstripped the more general upward trends in spending in other sectors of society.

Contributing to, and paralleling this trend was the sharp and unilinear increase in the number of students attending institutions of higher education. Where in the early 1950s the proportion of an age cohort attending universities rarely exceeded 5% (the U. S. being a noteworthy exception), by the mid-1970s it was the rare industrialized country which could not boast of university

attendance ratios of over 10%; Japan approached 25% and the U. S. exceeded 33%. Massive increases took place in the number and proportion of university students during the decade of the 1960s. In virtually all cases this student boom was matched by rapid expansion in the number of higher educational institutions, library facilities, faculty members, university administrators and support staff, and the like. Similarly, it was accompanied by rising expectations on the part of parents and children alike who came to regard a university education as an economic necessity, if not a constitutional right.

By the late 1960s signs were materializing that higher education's future would not be as glowing as many had blindly been wishing. It is true that certain demographic evidence suggests that the higher educational age cohort will be up from 2-10% in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy, and that it may rise by as much as one-third in Britain. Yet the baby boom that spurred higher educational institutions toward the expansionary spiral of the 1950s and 1960s has come to a halt and general population trends in the relevant age groups are typically stagnant or declining. The pool of potential applicants to higher educational institutions during the 1980s and 1990s will almost certainly be smaller than it was in the preceding two decades. Indeed in specific areas, such as the Northeastern portion of the U. S. predictions are that by 1990 the college age cohort will have declined by as much as 25%.

At the same time the demand for higher education on the part of students and their parents does not appear to have abated. Although it is increasingly clear that a university degree will by no means guarantee a stimulating occupation and a prosperous future, the absence of such a degree is almost certain to insure the reverse. Monetary inflation has not been accompanied by aspirational deflation. Instead, as Richard Easterlin, an economist at the University of Pennsylvania, has pointed out, as family size decreases, one can anticipate an increase in parental demand for and an ability to pay the costs of such an education for their now less numerous offspring. One can foresee a constant or even increasing demand for higher education but from a pool of fewer individuals who would have been capable of meeting past standards of acceptance.

Given the current economic situation in most industrial countries, however, the public sector is unlikely to grow sufficiently to meet changing demands or academic expectations. Indeed, taxpayers revolts have broken out from

California to Denmark, all calling for lower levels of public funding. Higher education unquestionably provides one of the most convenient and politically vulnerable targets for the budget cutter. Hence, during the decade of the 1980s it will be the rare politician, almost surely one bent on martyrdom, who will have the temerity to call for increased government spending for higher education. As a consequence, it will be the rare higher educational system, and the rare individual institution that can look into the future without anticipating lower levels of public support, fewer students and increased costs for the simple maintenance of ongoing programs and existing commitments. Expansion into new areas would appear to be even more problematic.

The future promises to squeeze the university between two hostile forces. From one side will come the pressure of funding agencies, most typically, but not exclusively public and political bodies, demanding more rigorous justifications for the money they are being asked to spend for higher education. From another direction there will be the pressures generated by a smaller and/or less qualified pool of potential students, most of whom will be demanding evidence that the programs in which they are enrolled will prove to be economically worthwhile after graduation. Such pressures might well have certain salutary effects within higher education, at least insofar as they force continual reexamination of accepted truisms. But they are more likely to be the progenitors of mischief to the extent that educators view them in their narrowest and most immediate terms. It is becoming all too clear that many responses to these pressures to date have been marked by a narrow bureaucratic protectionism and by an excessive concern for occupational relevance and political acceptability. These two have combined to produce educational lethargy, lack of foresight and a decline in sensitivity to the true role of higher education.

In the area of bureaucratic protectionism, the most dangerous trend, I would suggest, is that of fiscal and programatic defensiveness. Just like America's westward bound pioneers facing hostile Indians, many educators are "circling the wagons". To questions of who will absorb the needed cutbacks, all too many educators have responded in typical bureaucratic fashion with crys of "cut someone else, but not me." The essential nature of everyone's own particular job, program, department or institution becomes the inflexible starting point from which most begin to consider how adjustments must be

made to the new economic realities.

How is the university to maintain its creativity if everything that is in place remains, and the monies are not available for anything new? Obviously, cuts must be made, and personnel, courses, programs and even universities that may have had a distinct purpose in an earlier period may no longer be serving their original purpose. Certainly many smaller U. S. colleges have been forced to close and in the next decade at least 300 more will probably follow. It is surely tempting for the administrators and trustees, particularly of troubled private institutions, to attempt, like the drowning man to remain afloat, prolonging life, until the last possible moment. But have institutions not gone too far when standards of admission are drastically lowered; when admissions offices hire 'headhunters' whose job is to guarantee a specific number of bodies for a freshman class in return for a per capita fee; and when students on-campus are rewarded with tuition rebates for convincing their friends to enroll? Instead of such blindly desperate moves, it may well be in the interests of such institutions, and of higher education, more generally, to consider the possibilities of what I would call "creative euthanasia". Closing out gracefully will provide adequate notice to faculty and students, allowing them time to make the necessary adjustments. Furthermore, whatever endowments remain might well be used to promulgate the ideals and concerns of the colleges' founding bodies, be they minority education, ecological soundness, small and intimate teaching experiences, or religious upbringing.

In a related vein one faces the problem of tenure, faculty in-breeding, and loss of dynamism by professors. This is particularly acute in the U. S. again, but the American problem would appear to be more broadly relevant, since most countries provide tenure even more leniently than the U. S. In the era that is coming the entire tenure system must be reexamined. In many instances, colleges and universities will find themselves employing tenured individuals whose research and teaching interests no longer fit with changing institutional needs. Often this will involve the one teacher of a foreign language that once seemed critical, but now appears only arcane; the two economic historians in a department which seeks to stress econometrics; the sole specialist on a science that once formed the core of a larger program, and so forth. In other cases, individual faculty members' research and teaching interests may have altered dramatically from those that dominated their thinking when

they were first hired. In still other instances, the problem will center around an institution that has decided to alter fundamentally its basic orientation – stressing science and engineering over an earlier focus on the humanities, for example. The problems presented by such diverse cases demand very different approaches.

But while recognizing the validity of changing institutional need as a criteria for reexamining the entire tenure system, I would warn that all too frequently 'institutional need' can be utilized as a convenient excuse for eliminating the politically inconvenient, the socially undesirable, the intellectually renegade and the economically unrewarding. Insuring conformity, tranquility, and economic rewards should never be considered adequate justification for a dismanteling of the tenure system, no matter what the appeal of the slogans in which they are clothed.

That said, there do appear to be certain creative measures that could bypass some of the handicaps inherent in the tenure system without undermining the protection of academic and intellectual freedom it is designed to insure.

On the one hand, it is important to recognize that changes in emphasis, or simple budget cutbacks may make certain individuals, programs or departments less attractive to an institution than they once were. But the institution's tenure commitment should not be abridged with all costs and efforts of adjustment being placed on the faculty member. Attractive early retirement packages, relocational and retraining assistance and the like must be an important part of any tampering with the rights of tenured faculty. One of the more intriguing possibilities for institutions that are truly concerned with consolidating is to consider trades with institutions consolidating in compatible directions: the Language Department that choses to stress French may well be able to "trade" its superfluous German teacher for an additional French specialist with a department which has chosen to emphasize German. Obviously, such "trades" are unlikely to be manageable on a one-to-one basis and national or regional clearing houses may be essential to efficient brokering. Moreover, the tenured individual must be seen as more than a piece of chattel to be reassigned at the whim of two agreeable administrators. But with good will and sufficiently attractive financial inducements, such arrangements may well provide a component of relief from the rigidities embedded in present tenure arrangements.

In a similar vein, individuals who appeared so promising at age 25 might be less attractive at 40. What must also be recognized is that the very same individual might be as anxious to leave the university as the university is to have him leave. But present reward structures make it almost impossible for a tenured faculty member to leave without tremendous losses of prestige, retirement equity and training. The difficulties of finding subsequent meaningful employment provide an additional incentive to stay. The university might well learn from the baseball organizations, where the contract of an unsuccessful manager is simply "bought out". If universities were willing to provide two or three year sabbatical leaves for purposes of retraining, and were to insure that retirement equity not be lost, in exchange for the surrender of tenure, many a tenured faculty member would surely take the opportunity. The long run savings to the university, and more importantly, the increased opportunities gained by opening up new job slots, would be tremendous. Improvement in the overall quality of faculty and teaching would be almost guaranteed, while a second occupational chance would be given to the leaving faculty member. In *Chūō Kōron* nearly ten years ago, Nagai Michio suggested that it was intellectually healthy to "Have a Revolution Against Oneself", by changing careers. Surely the university could benefit from a programatic support for the institutionalization of such a concept.

Vitality and creativity within the university also demand the ability to generate new programs and courses, not just keeping existing faculty members flexible. Yet with everyone protecting the ongoing, it will be difficult to find the monies for new, albeit needed add-ons. Quite possibly the most important device to allow for such creativity would be an explicit tax on existing programs. A uniform budget cut of, say, one or two percent per year in all ongoing programs would provide at least a small sum to be used for totally creative and innovative hirings, couses or programs. Such cuts would hardly be popular, but if uniformly applied would be politically more tolerable to those whose budgets were reduced.

An additional source of stimulation, and one that is also likely to provide an increased pool of potential applicants concerns true internationalization of higher education. To date, many barriers have existed to the full time and regular admission and integration of foreign students into universities in many industrialized countries, but particularly in the U. S., Canada and Japan. Women

too have faced troublesome barriers in many instances. Overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers will not be easy; and student enrollment should be more than a simple and exploitative device of the well-to-do youth of Third World nations as has too often been the case in the past. Still, the barriers to date appear to be more firmly rooted in bureaucratic protectionism and blind prejudice than in sound educational philosophy: dropping them could be both intellectually creative and institutionally rejuvenative.

Finally, in the area of bureaucratic threats, perhaps the greatest is the rise of the professional administrator, a stance I realize may be very unpopular among academic professionals. Universities have unquestionably become exceptionally complex institutions requiring sophisticated administrative and budgeting procedures. But rather than becoming the servant of higher educational values, the professional administrator all too often becomes the arbiter of these values. The "bottom line" in universities should not be evaluated simply in terms of cost-accounting procedures, but in terms of inherent educational value and utility. Such assessments can, and must be made by educators, not bureaucrats.

In place of an intellectual leader giving shape to an entire program of study, the modern university president has become a combination fund raiser, crisis manager, public relations specialist and orator. His administrative subordinates are rarely, if ever, *more* intellectually creative than he. The result is too often the replacement of academic leadership by administrative lackluster and political gamesmanship. Yet with fiscal criteria being uppermost in the minds of funding agencies, and with university budgets shrinking in relative, if not in absolute terms, it will be difficult indeed for faculty members and other educators to hold the line against "rationally-minded" administrators and to insist that "rationality" is a concept that transcends the monetary or the politically acceptable.

This leads logically to the second set of dangers that I anticipate, namely a prostituting of higher education to the occupational and political structures. This trend has become most evident in the United States, where, increasingly, general and liberal arts education are losing out to professional training programs glorified by a Bachelor's or a Masters' degree. It would be naive to contend that higher education has ever been, or should ever be, divorced from the industrial and financial demands of the broader society. Yet it is dangerous

in the extreme to create and destroy departments, programs and institutions with an eye toward little more than their ability to attract large numbers of economically motivated students with the promise of "relevant" training in fields where local or national occupational demand is high.

As the scramble begins to generate ever more occupationally-relevant programs, so as to appeal to business and financial interests, so too a parallel scramble appears to be taking place to make the universities more politically palatable to conservative political forces. Most important in this regard has been the virtual dismanteling of the structural and procedural democratization that followed the protests of 1968-69. In West Germany, the courts have eroded most of the democratic reforms; in the United States graduate student unions and campus self-government measures have all but disappeared; in France, the politics of May-June, 1968 have been smothered under successive waves of Education Ministry reaction; in Japan, the "temporary" University Control Bill has been declared permanent and most of the reforms promised in the wake of student protests have been gutted. Administrators are sure to perceive political responsibility on campus as a central factor in governmental decisions on the allocation of increasingly scarce public resources. Campuses with quiet, "responsible" students and faculties under the explicit guidance or "sensible" administrators are sure to make a better political impression with legislators, and education ministries. Future democratization is hardly likely.

No major institution can expect to exist in isolation from today's complex and interrelated societies. This includes the university; the isolated ivory tower cannot be recreated even if it were desirable to do so. Yet it is well to recall that among its many functions, one of the most critical performed by a university has been to provide a place apart, an arena for open discourse on the values, goals, norms and cultural expectations of the surrounding world. Protest, conflict and tension play a major role in creativity. The worthwhile institution of higher education is not the institution that panders to social fads, that organizes its educational curriculum around the needs of the surrounding economy or that provides job training and instant certification for subsequently high paying employment, or that seeks solely to placate its politicians. The most critical function of a university, and yet the one that is almost always the most difficult to fulfill is that of "speaking truth to power."

If it does not do this, it may well survive as an institution; indeed, failure to do so may be the best political and social insurance policy in which an institution could invest. But structural survival would come at the expense of spiritual and moral decay. One must only pray that those who care deeply about universities and their long-standing functions will be willing to exercise the very hard choices that appear before them in ways that will put value and meaning above economics, politics and an empty structural survival.

# HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1980s
## A THIRD WORLD POINT OF VIEW*

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In the decade, in a series of national, regional and international conferences, the academic institutions and their community have persistently committed themselves to solving the various multifaceted problems facing mankind and in particular improve the quality of life in Third World countries. However, as one can see, the contributions of institutions of higher learning as well as their research – in spite of their high cost to public funds – have far from helped to cure the economic ills which Third World countries have faced. Instead, these Western or Western-trained and -oriented "Third World" economists and their theoretically oriented and sophisticated growth oriented models of development, have brought about significant economic growth rates – but at a closer examination the indicators reveal that there is a high, and rapidly widening, gap in wealth and life-style between the rich and poor nations. More significantly, there exists a large and rapidly growing inequality of wealth, income and life-style within the poor countries themselves. This has given rise to increasing malnutrition, illiteracy, high infant mortality, and a low life-expectance so as to be below any rational definition of human decency. The President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert S. McNamara, in his address to the UNCTAD Meeting in Chile had to concede to the fact that:

> "Such evidence as is available suggests that even the developing countries which have registered significant gains in GNP growth rates are plagued with severely skewed income distribution patterns".[1)]

Mr. McNamara again, in his address to the Board of Governors of the World Bank in October 1979, pointed out that:

". . . . in the poorest countries, per capita income grew at only 1.7 per cent a year – in Africa at only 0.2 per cent. This is virtual stagnation. It means that for hundreds of millions of individuals – already trapped at the bare margin of survival – 'growth' in income was two or three dollars a year". 2)

Traditionally, it is nationally, regionally and internationally accepted that the system of formal higher education which we pursue, in spite of its constantly increasing high cost to public funds, has a positive and major role to play in the acceleration of economic and social development of nation states. However, in the last few years wide-ranging discussions and examination of evidence suggests that the problems faced in higher education has assumed crisis proportions, not only in Third World countries but, in fact, throughout our increasingly interdependent world. These problems are gaining momentum and can be expected to besiege all nations – though with differeing degrees of intensity – throughout the 1980s. To face this challenge in higher education, in Third World countries in particular, will need a considerable amount of ingenuity and political courage among the political leadership and educational planners.

Why are Third World countries facing these serious challenges? In my view this is largely because our higher educational system, which is basically metropolitan in character, has come into being through a succession of ad hoc decisions or events. This educational system has grown rapidly and haphazardly and in the process has not taken stock particularly of the actual and relevant development and manpower needs of our countries, especially in the light of their scarce financial resources. In other words, the system of formal higher education not only does not appear at present to have adapted adequately to serve societal and individual needs in the environment of these countries, but its expansion continues to impose severe financial stringencies on many of the Third World countries.

Our higher education system and the institutions concerned with higher education were brought wholesale from metropolitan centres into a social system which was entirely different. Therefore, not surprisingly, institutions of higher learning and research in many Third World countries are modelled and organically linked to the metropolitan institutions of higher learning and research, maintaining "international" standards and aspiring for "international recognition". This has meant that the content of university teaching, and

research as well, was modelled on the lines of their metropolitan counterparts, in spite of the fact that in the last twenty years we have effectively replaced expatriate academics with local academics. Of course, the majority of the local academics who replaced the expatriates are Western-trained and -oriented.3)

Our metropolitan modelled universities have three main functions. Firstly, they are a reservoir and transmitter of knowledge, modelled on the liberal Western pattern from one generation to another. Secondly, through continuous research and teaching, they enhance the "advancement" nationally and internationally of our whole conceptualization of knowledge. And thirdly, they formally prepare and provide their respective societies with the restricted number of high-level manpower, drawn mainly from the urban and rural elites. This education is a passport to privilege, and the products of this education are required to participate in the productive processes of the colonial and post-colonial societies. Whoever is so fortunate as to participate in this process is highly rewarded.4) Others are unemployed or are employed in occupations which hardly requires their educational qualifications.

The research conducted in Third World universities is essentially for the acquiring and advancement of the individual's preference for knowledge for the sake of knowledge, and they ensure that internationally standards are maintained and, in some instances, tend to be an exclusive vocation of intellectual recluses. In many instances, to gain respectability both nationally and internationally, the research is done in collaboration and under the tutelage of scholars from the West. Once completed it is published by a Western publisher and remains in the exclusive libraries of academic circles. However, another area of so-called collaborative research, was developed in the region after the Second World War between scholars from big power countries, particularly between prestigious Western institutions and their scholars, and Third World scholars. The Southeast Asian region too saw this phenomenon, and this collaborative research gained momentum with the aid programme and the Vietnam war. In this phase the major Western agencies were interested in two basic things. Firstly, they were interested in the collection of sensitive and relevant information and secondly, in making native scholars in the region subservient to their way of life and thinking. To do this they provided substantial funds to Western elite academics and their institutions, to perform

this function under the cover of collaborative research.

Once this collaborative research was agreed upon between the Western scholars and their counterparts in the region, an asymmetrical relationship developed. The theoretical framework, the research design, the priorities in collecting the data were more or less decided by the Western collaborator. What seems to be interesting here is that the research design, etc. was designed in the West and therefore had assumptions applying to Western "mass-society", whereas these studies were and are done in Southeast Asia. The analysis of the data is thus done in such a manner as to give a totally biased picture to our policy planners, the result being that our societies in the region and our planners will do what the Westerners think is good for us. A recently published paper by Edward H. Berman in the *Harvard Educational Review*[5] points out that American funded research have played an important role in shaping social research in Africa with the aim of promoting American corporate interests. In many instances recommendations arising out of such research have been accepted *in toto*. This has resulted in closing better options for some of the countries in the region, often with serious consequences. Classic examples are our immediate neighbours, the Indo-Chinese countries. These features, and their obsession with "autonomy and academic freedom", have tended to force institutions of higher learning to maintain a separate existence from the rest of society. In other words there is some doubt as to whether the traditional university centered higher education either by adhering too rigidly to traditional concepts and attitudes or by collaborating with Western bias researchers who have a vested interest in our institutions of higher learning have failed miserably in being effective as major forces in national development in a rapidly changing national, regional and international social environment.

The persistence of this phenomenon has suggested to us, in the past ten years, that the imposition or acceptance of a predominantly Western-oriented education and research system is to a considerable extent inadequate and cannot function in society as an effective organ to solve our urgent and pressing developmental problems. It has become more obvious to us that our higher education and research institutions should spearhead alternatives in development strategies. Such development strategies should promote indigenous and autonomous theoretical work on the concept of development as it applies to our societies. We should encourage policy-oriented studies on development, alter-

natives in economy, polity and culture. Such views are gaining momentum in Third World countries. For example, the theme of the recent Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils conference in Manila in September 1979 was "Indigenization of the Social Sciences, Research and its Dissemination in the Asian Context". Professor S. C. Dube, the well-known Indian anthropologist, in his keynote address to the conference pointed out that:

> ". . . . after the advent of independence in the former colonies and dependencies, it is amazing but true that there was little visible change in the academic culture. The social sciences not only retained their links with high prestige centres of learning abroad but also maintained, in a significant measure, their attitude of deference, dependency, and servility. There was a race as it were to keep up with the latest trends: imitation of conceptual frame-workers and methods of research was all too evident. Little thought was given, in the process, to the applicability and relevance of these frameworks of inquiry and analysis to the countries where they were being adopted. Most of the developing countries thus remained as outposts of academic empires and a sizeable group of social scientists continued and still continue to function with, to use the words of our eminent Asian social scientist, a captive mind".6)

What we have seen so far is that the very structure and character of our Western-modelled higher education system, and the insitutions that were part of it, have not been able to face the challenges posed by an environment of widespread poverty compounded by a rapid population increase and a global energy crisis.7) It is in this dramatic environment that we have to perceive what are going to be the major responses to the challenges faced in higher education in the 1980s.

To meet these challenges, institutions of higher learning which are still a luxury in many Third World countries have to seriously rethink the purpose of their existence, and conceive of innovating alternative approaches in higher education to appropriately meet the challenges of the "pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare". However, while we can analyse the nature of the problem reasonably well, we are at a loss to specify the nature of the responses. The following suggestions are an attempt to outline the way in which we might approach the task of finding solutions.

One of the fundamental problems in most Third World countries is the

"state of mind"[8] that has emerged and entrenched itself as a result of our captive mind to the Western education system. According to this system everything industrial is developmental, hence good and desirable, while everything non-industrial is backward and undesirable.[9] This phenomenon has to be reordered and the value system has to be radically changed.

Institutions of higher learning should take the lead in helping people in our societies to rediscover the past and its contribution. In other words, the genesis and transmission of knowledge in a meaningful way. Of course many institutions have in fact being doing this in their study of their economy and culture but very little attention has been given to studying how ancient and medieval institutions of learning were related to the wider society, and how it served communities and individuals. The outcome of these researches could possibly contribute to the emergence and formulation of new concepts which could if found suitable and relevant be incorporated in school and university curricula, and particularly in teacher education syllabi. When we are more conscious of our indigenous roots we will be better prepared to spearhead the construction of a definition of development, and work out its strategies which take due account of our interdependent world. This will contribute considerably to diffuse, in their own countries, these indigenous ideas and at the same time help to enhance the raising consciousness among their people.

This trend of development has to be complemented with a parallel development, in that experts of different disciplines from Third World countries who share a number of common problems should be brought together to understand and develop a sustained exchange and development of ideas. In other words, regional cooperation in higher education in a meaningful way is vital. Through this type of cooperation and communication a meaningful dialogue among these countries will be developed and this will contribute to disciplinary growth both in terms of theory and method.[10] The Latin Americans are doing this on an increasing scale. In our case the development of an ASEAN regional cooperation is the obvious thing to do. This type of activity will also help us not only to improve our educational content and teaching, but continuously help us to emancipate our minds. Furthermore it lessens the Western imposition of alien theoretical models and research methodology.

There are in fact many innovative programmes now being undertaken in Third World institutions of higher learning, particularly among the network

of new research institutions both national and regional, and they have had a direct bearing on their societies.[11] The primary health care programmes undertaken by medical school teachers and researchers in Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia are a few cases in point. We should undertake systematic longitudinal studies of the conditions which make them succeed or fail to different degrees. Such studies will provide both the teachers and researchers who will constantly receive reactions from the people of the practical relevance of their work. This will also help the researcher to find out the significance of his research for new theory and policy link between education and research. This in turn could help us with clues for the creation of indigenous models of higher education and educational planning.

One of our earlier contention was that the distribution of the economic cake is skewed in practically all Third World countries. This is accompanied by considerable unemployment and poverty. One long-term measure to counteract this imbalance would be to make higher education more accessible to persons from both the urban and the rural poor. Apart from taking definite steps to make this immediately possible, we should initiate studies of how individuals from economically disadvantaged background currently do manage to make use of higher education to improve their life chances. Conclusions from such studies could be helpful in developing new policies to benefit the poor.

As in the Western World our institutions of higher learning also reward only the people who develop a national and international reputations, primarily through research and publications. Development, however, requires that one responds to the immediate local problems and issues that confront our society. If our institutions of higher learning are genuinely committed to facilitating development, then we should develop rewards and incentives which are community based. In other words, the same rewards should be meted for community service as for scholarly publications.

In all Third World countries policy makers and educational planners and the people at large have come to realize that far-reaching changes are necessary and have to be made to the educational system for it to become relevant in order to play a dynamic and contributory role in social and economic reconstruction. However, one can foresee considerable difficulties in achieving this as most educational systems are deep-rooted and overnight reforms or

changes are difficult. One of the strongest opponents for change will be the members of the influencial privileged classes who have benefitted most from the existing higher education system. They are not easily going to allow decisions to be taken which will bring about radical changes to nullify their privileges. In other words, so long as society is unequal, and if our policy makers and planners are not going to unleash in greater measure than they are doing now other forces to promote equality, education alone cannot achieve much.

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# ISSUES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1980s: THE CASE OF KOREA

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**Issues of Higher Education in 1980s: The Case of Korea**

As of 1979 in the Republic of Korea there are 234 institutions of higher education including 84 4-year colleges and universities, with total enrollments of 509,308 including 25, 789 graduate students and 153,174 students enrolled in junior colleges and miscelleneous schools of collegiate standing.[1] Of the total enrollments 73.4% belong to the private category and 24.2% are female

Table 1. **Recent Status of Higher Education in Korea (1979)**

| Classification | No. of Institution | Enrollments | No. of Faculty | Percentage of Private Enrollments | Percentage of Female Students |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Junior Vocational College | 127 | 142,624 | 5,236 | 82.4 | 24. 7 |
| Junior Teacher College | 11 | 7,308 | 537 | 0 | 76.3 |
| College & University | 84 | 330,345 | 13,059 | 71.3 | 23.4 |
| Graduate School | (100) | 25,789 | 191 | 66.8 | 16.1 |
| Miscellaneous School of Collegiate Standing | 12 | 3,242 | 151 | 100.0 | 28.1 |
| Total | 234 | 509,308 | 19,174 | 73.4 | 24.2 |

Source: Satistical Yearbook of Education, Ministry of Education, 1979

Note: 1) No. of graduate schools is not included in total number of institutions, while enrollments in graduate schools are included in total enrollments.

2) Due to reorganization of junior colleges (2-years) and junior technical colleges (2-3 years) into junior vocational colleges in 1978, enrollments in those institutions are included under the category of junior vacational college.

students. As of 1978, 12.6% of the age group, 19-22, were receiving higher education and out of 277,783 students then enrolled in 4-year colleges and universities 33.1% were humanities and social science majors, 48.8% belonged to the natural sciences category and the remaining 19.1% were pursuing teacher education programs.

Today higher education in Korea is in a state of rapid transition and transformation, with turmoils and controversies over its present and future directions, as is peculiarly characteristic of the time of great change.

Looking back we find that since early 1960s higher education in Korea has been heading for reform and change. Following the failure of radical, omnibus re-arrangement plan in early 1960s a series of more fragmentary but steady reform policies, such as enforcement of the strict student quota system, official registration of degree holders, national preliminary examination for college entrance, etc., have been instituted. More recently since 1970s, more systematic efforts have been made for gradually introducing a number of reforms, through experimentation and demonstration at socalled pilot institutions, such as reduction of credit hours required for graduation from 160 to 140, necessitating overall curriculum reorganization, introduction of minor and double major systems, selection of students on broad field basis instead of the traditional departmental basis, and institution of more flexible curriculum management enabling the gifted students to shorten their term of study from 4 years up to 3 years. Introduction of the specialization programs has also been made, designed for increasing efficiency in meeting the manpower requirements in designated fields, such as mechanical engineering, electronics, engineering teacher training, etc., through concentrated support in terms of student quotas, specialized curricula, and financial arrangement. Other innovations, such as inauguration of the junior college of the air and corresspondence in 1972, implementation of Seoul National University consolidation on the basis of a 10-year development plan, 1968-77, institution of the Korea Advanced Institute of Science (KAIS) in 1971, etc., have also been noteworthy. More recently strengthening of graduate programs, e.g., at Seoul National University is under way.

In 1980s higher education is expected to be a focus point in education development with a top priority given to it. Due to the fact that Korean higher education is in rapid transition on one hand and on the other hand due to the

fact that greater importance is attached to the role of higher education in the age of rapid industrialization heralding advent of a knowledge society, higher education is now increasingly becoming a focus of controversial issues, with dilemmas and problems openly scrutinized. While issues of higher education are legion and of diversity, on the basis of general observation, I propose here to discuss some of the more salient ones, as I see them.

**Expansion vs. Excellency and Equality**

Expansion in college and university enrollments is likely to continue in the years to come. Entrance to higher educational institutions has been regulated by the central government through implementation of the more rigid student quota policy particularly since middle 1960s. There has been mounting social pressure for expansion of higher education particularly resulting from universalization of secondary education, as amply exemplified in the case of socalled repeaters problems, which has become a typical case of educational issue aggravated into a serious social issue. While the Ministry of Education responsible for allocation of student quotas has been generally reluctant to give way to such pressure, more recently there has been equally strong demand for expansion of higher education, based on increasing high level manpower requirements, however elusive they may be. As is shown in Table 2, competition for college entrance seems to persist in spite of the more generous open-door policy of the MOE responding to the increasing social de-

Table 2. **Advancement Rates of High School Graduates**

| Year | No. of High School Graduates (A) | No. of College-bound Aspirants (B) | No. Admitted to College (C) | B/A (%) | C/A (%) | C/B (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1965 | 115,776 | 65,368 | 37,378 | 56.6 | 32.3 | 57.2 |
| 1970 | 145,062 | 65,729 | 39,073 | 45.3 | 26.9 | 59.4 |
| 1975 | 263,369 | 127,456 | 68,055 | 484 | 25.8 | 53.4 |
| 1979 | 439,848 | 225,877 | 113,905 | 51.4 | 25.9 | 50.4 |

Note: 1) Advancemant to all post-secondary higher educational institutions is included here.

2) Entrance to 4-year colleges and universities tends to be more competitive.

mand as well as manpower requirements. The wide gap existing between the ever-increasing college aspirants and the number of place available is apparent. To cope with the situation a recent long-range educational development plan has proposed to expand higher education by more than doubling enrollments by the target year of 1991, as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3. **Plan for Expansion of Higher Education in Korea**

| Year | Place in Junior College | Place in 4-year Colleges & Universities | Percentage of High School Graduates to be admitted to Higher Education | Percentage of Age Group to be Enrolled in Higher Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1978 | 114 | 278 | 33.8 % | 11.1 % |
| 1981 | 237 | 447 | 56.9 | 18.3 |
| 1986 | 305 | 695 | 55.2 | 29.1 |
| 1991 | 346 | 798 | 54.8 | 31.9 |

Source: Korea Educational Development Institute, *Educational Development in Korea: Prospect and Tasks*, 1978-91, 1978

As expansion continues, one of the central issues to be raised, not to mention the validity of such a trend in terms of social needs, will be concerned with the problem of excellency in higher education. Despite the government plan to give a top priority in education development to the support of higher education, a serious question remains whether higher educational institutions will be able to raise or even maintain their academic stantards pursuing the principle of excellency, the *raison d'ëtre* of higher educational institutions as such. Already there is a sign of lowering standards on the part of those admitted to colleges and universities, except for some of the more prestigious institutions, judging from the recent cutline marks in national preliminary examinations for college entrance. Unless acclerated efforts are made on the lower level schools to level up the general standards of achievement and unless parallel efforts are made on the part of colleges and universities in cooperation with the government to provide for adequate supporting conditions, including the qualified faculties and adequate facilities, such an expansion may bring forth degenerated quality of higher education, with lowering academic standards

and some worse institutions turning into diploma mills. Thus there are strong voices of caution being raised.

Another serious issue related to expansion of higher education, that is likely to be raised is the problem of equality. Equality of educational opportunity on the level of higher education has many dimensions, and naturally presupposes the existing inequality, as seen from different angles. First access to higher education is not equal according to geographical regions, sex and socio-economic status. For example in terms of enrollment quotas higher educational institutions in Seoul area accommodate slightly less than 50% of higher education population while the population in this area is only 20%. There are other provinces where the proportion of higher education population is less than half of the proportion of total population, indicating gross inequality in access to higher education. The proportion of female students marks around a quarter of the total school population in higher education. And due to the fact that financial ability of individual students not only determines the level of aspiration for higher education but also tends to influence the level of achievement in high schools and entrance examinations, socio-economic status tends to influence the chances for higher education. While the persistent inequality gaps in access to higher education tend to be narrowed down through intentional policy-directed changes, such as increasing student quotas for local colleges and universities, encouragements and incentives provided for dispersal of Seoul-based higher educational institutions, special incentives to women's colleges, increasing fee reductions and scholarship awards[2], etc., the problem consciousness tends to grow, as the sense of equity and social justice grows.

The problem of inequality also looms large in relation to the conditions of education, such as staff student ratio, quality of the faculty,[3] facilities and equipments, financing, etc. The MOE has been promoting higher education reform in cooperation with colleges and universities concerned since early 1970s particularly through inauguration of the pilot institutions, which now number 39, less than half the total number of 4-year colleges and universities and yet encompassing over two-thirds of the university population. The reform in general has been directed towards equalization programs, although there still remains a large extent of inequality. It was not so much the contents of reform, however, as the process itself, involving accelerated government

support, evaluation and institutional research, open exchange of ideas and practices among institutions and departments within the same institutions, etc., that brought to clearer recognition of the inequalities and better realization of the need for equalization. This realization will continue to press for equalization among national and private institutions, metropolitan and local institutions and among 4-year colleges and junior technical colleges. It is likely to become one of the central issues in 1980s, for while the general direction is more or less set, the more concrete conditions and the means for its realization are by no means clear, lacking social consensus.

**Autonomy vs. Control**

The concept of autonomy has a long historical root, dating back to the Medieval university, which used to enjoy a wide range of freedom as a self-governing body. Including both individual freedom, on the part of the member of the faculty and the student body, such as for research, instruction, expression, and learning, and institutional freedom on the part of the institution, for decision making relative to its management and operations, college or university autonomy is still considered a basic texture, while its limitations are duly recognized.

In Korea, as elsewhere, university autonomy has been prized on the basis of a clear recognition of its historical background on one hand and on the other hand of its nature as an academic community basically directed towards free exercise of critical and creative intelligence relative to acquisition, transmission and application of knowledge.

On the other hand, however, the concept of control by state has also been gradually accepted on such grounds as follows: a) a university is an educational organization to serve the public goods with quality education and equal opportunity guranteed: b) it has accountability for financial and other inputs from the society: c) it has to increase its role in national development d) according to the logic of planning for freedom it is to be duly subject to rational control to serve the cause of greater freedom and social justice: e) as new institutions are created, diversity in quality tends to set limits on autonomy, creating a need for establishing and enforcing standards for qaulity control.

In Korea up to 1950's higher educational institutions had more or less

enjoyed greater freedom under the prevailing *leissez-faire* policy. Since 1960s a number of measures have been taken to strengthen government control on higher educational institutions. While the control has been strengthened in parallel with a number of measure for strengthening support, the extent and manner of control remain controversial, often coming into conflict with the concept of autonomy.

In 1980s an optimal balance between autonomy and control, a pattern of mix fitted to our circumstances will be sought. The pendulum in recent years has gone too far to the side of control, it is now criticized. Without going to the other extreme end of *lessez-faire* and resultant chaos, a new *modus operandi* must be established. Particularly in relation to such matters as stringen. and close supervision over private institutions, limitations on student activities and method of student selection, etc., moderation may well be introduced. Along with the process of political development individual freedom may well be strengthened.

Many a controversy, however, is bound to be raised as to the concrete mode of establishing the balance between autonomy and control particularly in relation to the role of external administration, that is, administration of higher education by the MOE.

**Curricular Standards and Relevancy of the Curriculum**

The problem of the curriculum, relative to its structure and social relevancy, has always been a focal point of controversies. In a four-year college or university in Korea the typical curriculum structure consists of general education and specialized education programs. The latter in turn may be subdivided into required courses and electives or into majors or minors. The general curricular standards in terms of credit hours were 180 credits between 1945 and 1954, 160 credit hours since 1955, and 140 hours since 1973 in the pilot institutions. Today there are two major patterns roughly divided into two camps: traditional institutions having 160 credit-hour standards and those reform-bound pilot institutions with 140 credit hours. Transition from the 160-hour system to 140-hour system, naturally involving general curricular reorganization, is the central feature of higher education reform which has been underway for the last several years. Curricular reorganization may well continue to be a focus of reform and controversies in the years to come in

1980s. Along the process the old problem of general education vs. specialized education, required courses vs. electives, social relevancy of the contents of respective courses, etc., will be brought to the open, causing controversies among the academic disciplines and respective faculties.

Today the curricular organization in Korean colleges and universities presents a wide range of variations within the broad framework of 160 or 140 credit hour structure. There are two common standards applied to all colleges and universities. First, four subjects of national ethic, Korean history, military training and physical education are required for all as part of the general education program, and secondly a minimum of 30% is to be allocated for general education courses. Since there is a wide range of choice over and above these minimum standards involving a great deal of institutional freedom, the matter of curricular organization and its relevancy will long remain as a source of controversies. Despite some healthy signs, such as interdisciplinary, interuniversity and school-industry cooperation, considerable degree of closed-doorness or Monroeism persists blocking the way to progress. It is now hoped that the coming decade will witness a great stride to be made in promotion of curricular reform directed towards greater relevancy, efficiency and cooperation. As for the curriculum of junior technical colleges, the present over-emphasis upon vocationalism, particularly in engineering programs, is likely to be reappraised.

**Reorganization of Teacher Training Institutions and Programs**

One of the major concerns in Korean higher education in 1980s may well be reorganization of teacher education. As of 1979 there are 11 junior colleges of education for elementary teacher training, 25 colleges of education for secondary teacher training, and a large number of diversified teacher training programs including vocational teacher training, attached to general colleges and universities. While certain unified standards in terms of required professional courses, practice teaching, etc., are established and enforced, teacher training programs have not been found satisfactory. In terms of supply and demand as well as of the quality of products they are drowing criticisms.

As to their future directions for reform no consensus has been reached, it appears. One specific direction of agreement, however, is that the junior college of education should be extended to become a 4-year college program.

Opinion is divided, however, as to the future direction of institutional set-up of the teacher training programs. Some would prefer to continue with the diversified teacher training programs and inaugurate a national qualification examination system as a prerequisite to licensing. Others would rather establish new university-type comprehensive teacher training institutes, where elementary, secondary and other specialized teachers may be trained. Thus the problem of teacher training will be a big issue to be settled in 1980s.

The problem of inservice training will also draw increased attention. Today there are 11 elementary teachers inservice training institutes, each attached to 11 junior teachers colleges, 16 secondary school teachers inservice training institutes, and the Institute for the Study of Educational Administration attached to College of Education, Seoul National University, which is in fact an administrators training institute. In addition the 13 graduate schools of education also serve in part the purpose of high-level inservice training for teachers. As increased importance is attached to the function of inservice training, these institutes will have to be strengthened with better supporting conditions, a task to be fulfilled in 1980s.

**Support to Private Higher Education**

As pointed out previously private higher education now occupies over 70% of higher education population. Except for junior colleges of education which are exclusively national due to legal provisions, higher educational institutions are overwhelmingly private. Two most striking features of private higher education in Korea are: first, diversity in terms of origin and development, background of the management, basic philosophy, size, faculty and student composition, tendency, except for rather exceptional cases, to depend upon tuitions and fees at least for financing current operational expenditures.

One of the most urgent issues confronting private higher education in Korea in 1980s will be concerned with financing in relation to the problem of institutional antonomy and government support. For the last decade the MOE has been increasingly cognizant of the need for support to private higher education in view of growing importance attached to higher education in national development. And in fact some concrete measures of support have been taken, such as increased research grants and scholarships allocated to the faculty and the students, introduction of government guranteed educational

loans, tax exemptions and priviledges, etc. With all these, and despite the fact that private institutions generally charge tuitions and fees two to three times as higher as national institutions, they suffer from financial difficulties. Moreover due to acclerated government support in recent years to national higher education, private higher education is beginning to feel the sense of imbalance, openly claiming for more equitable treatment.

To meet the needs of private education the government is now planning to establish a Private School Fund and to legislate a new act specifically designed for acclerated support to private schools including private higher education. All these must come in 1980s.

In this connection the general policy direction seems to be in agreement. The more concrete ways and means to deal with the policy, however, remain to be resolved. Particularly in relation to the thorny and persistent problem of autonomy and control the problem of accelerated support to private higher education is bound to raise a horde of complicated questions and issues accompanying it, presenting a new challenge in years to come. The important role of private higher education may well be reappraised and a new model of financing may need to be established, directed towards greater adequacy, efficiency and equity accorded to it.

These are some of the more important issues facing Korean higher education in the coming decade. Other issues of no less significance, such as the plan to establish several university spheres centering around the graduate education center, that is, to establish clusters of higher education centers, new innovations concerning student selection, the proposed plan to establish a large scale open university, etc., could not be dealt with here. As noted earlier, higher education in Korea will face a time of change and transition ahead. Challenges are great; responses to them may well be at once rewarding and exciting.

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1) The enrollments here denote full-time students only, excluding 29,418 additional students enrolled in the Air & Correspondence Junior College. If this part-time category is included, total enrollments will amount to 538,726.

2) The proportion of fee reduction and scholarship awards out of the total student population as of 1978 was 35.7% for colleges and universities and 12.0% for junior colleges, averaging 29.2% for the whole.

3) As of 1978 the staff/student ratio in colleges and universities in the average was 1:24; it was 1:25 in junior technical colleges. The proposed ratio, according to the recent long-range plan for the target year of 1991 is 1:15 for the former and 1:18 for the latter. And as of 1979, out of the total 13,250 faculty members in 4-year colleges and universities only 32.5% are doctoral degree holders and 43.7% are masters degree holders.

# HIGHER EDUCATION FOR THE 1980s:
## THE CASE OF WEST GERMANY

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### 1. Digesting the Changes of the Seventies

If one were to ask West Germany experts on higher education what they expect is in store for higher education in the Eighties – leaving aside the more extreme, futuristic goals of some brave new world, all visions of fantastic technology or major crises – I should think the majority of them would answer: higher education will need to digest the changes introduced in the Seventies.

Although the growth in student numbers from around 530,000 in 1970 to around 950,000 in 1979 was accompanied by a nearly corresponding expansion of facilities and staff at the institutions of higher education, much remains to be done in coming to terms with the varied effects this has had on student behavior, in regard to the need for guidance and counselling, on curricular and teaching methods, on organisation in the institutions of higher education, and on the relationship between teaching and research, to name only a few critical areas. Most forecasts in recent years have come to the conclusion that the freshman quota of a given age group will remain constant at around 20% or at most rise to 25%, and that total college enrolment can be expected to rise only slightly up to around 1985, when it should begin to fall as a result of demographic factors. The Federal-State Commission for Educational Planning and the Promotional of Research has recently estimated that college enrolment will total between 1,104,000 and 1,168,000 in 1985, and then decline to between 1,049,000 and 1,209,000 in 1990. This levelling off may mean the creation of more opportunities for coping with the internal changes that have come about as a result of growing numbers of students.

The Federal Republic of Germany is undoubtedly to be included among the countries in which particularly great efforts were made to reform higher education during the Sixties and Seventies – among industrialized nations it seems that the only country to have carried out more far-reaching reforms is Sweden. Noteworthy in the case of West Germany is the fact that as a result of its tradition of fairly even standards among the various universiteis, homogeneity in organisation, state supervision, etc., reforms have affected the system as a whole rather than being simply 'added on' to existing structures as is primarily the case in many other countries.

The changes need to be gradually digested particularly in those two areas of reform in higher education in which during the Seventies the Federal Republic of Germany has markedly differed from other countries:

a. In regard to the structure of higher education, it became the dominant view around 1970 that any steep hierarchy or large discrepancy in standards should be avoided even in the face of growing numbers of students. Instead it was felt that the distinction between the two existing levels – university and vocational college – should be maintained and the two connected by the establishment of comprehensive universities.

b. In regard to internal decision-making, models for giving junior staff, students and non-professional staff considerable voice in university affairs were tried out and introduced.

It proved difficult to implement these goals, and controversy grew over goals. A number of the reform ideas put forward in the early Seventies find little or no backing today.

For example, comprehensive universities (Gesamthochschulen) account for no more than six per cent of all students enrolled in higher education, even though in many institutions and fields of study there still is interest in the question of how to achieve a synthesis of the traditional research-oriented university education and the practical orientation to be found at vocational colleges (Fachhochschulen). In addition, a number of far-reaching changes in internal decision-making processes were dropped following the Federal Constitutional Court decision of 1973 to the effect that in decisions pertaining to research and staff appointments, full professors are to have a mojority voice in university committees. Nonetheless changes have taken place which, given a longer period of consolidation, may prove important. Especially in regard

to reforms in curricula and teaching, an intensive process of evaluation has begun and guidelines are being established. A great deal of experimentation was carried out in this field during the Seventies. Among other things, the Federal and State governments have spent around 300 million Marks on developing curricular models. Study reform commissions exist on the Federal level since 1978, when they were introduced by the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Education in accordance with the Framework Act for Higher Education. These comissions are currently striving to work out guidelines on the basis of past experience and expectations of future developments.

In a discussion paper of this nature it is not possible to deal with a great number of potential structural, curricular and organisational changes. What I shall try to do is to discuss challenges and responses of higher education – the topic of this international seminar – in terms of the relationship between higher education and society. I should like to formulate my remarks in the framework of four questions:

1) What sort of impact is the changing market for graduates likely to have on higher education?
2) In which areas do the universities appear to be about to extend their activities?
3) What will be the tasks of higher education as a result of the economics and social changes that are to be expected in the Eighties?
4) How do we expect higher education to rank among the political priorities of the near future?

## 2. The Impact of the Changing Labor Market of Graduates on Higher Education

In general, experts are in agreement that over the period of expansion from 1960 to roughly the mid-Seventies there was little change in the type of occupational positions graduates assume upon leaving the university. In other words, the number of occupational positions for which a college degree was the typical prerequisite increased roughly proportionally to the number of graduates. Within just a few years this pattern has radically changed, due less to any unexpected slow-down in economic growth than to the marked expansion of higher eudcation, for this change had to be expected even if the oil crisis had not occurred. According to an estimate published by the Institute

for Labor Market and Occupational Research in Nuremberg, around half the graduates of 1978 were neither unemployed nor employed in positions traditionally considered appropriate for college graduates. It is not known to what extent these persons are sssuming lower positions, part-time jobs or have opted for "alternative" or some other means of earning a living. At any rate in can be expected that the proportion of graduates adopting one of these solutions will continue to grow.

No clear notion of how to deal with all these changes has as yet emerged from the universities. On the one hand there exists a considerable measure of agreement that it would not be desirable to water down higher education or have it take over vocational training from other sectors of the education system. On the other hand it seems hardly possible to cling inflexibly to the old objectives and ignore the difficulty half of today's students apparently have in seeing any purpose in their studies in terms of future occupation. Without doubt alarm has been growing over the past few years about the fact that today's students are not prepared to take the study programs that are offered as seriously as previous generations have done: growing apathy, the development of new subcultures, lack of interest in theoretical questions, absenteeism in university courses, a growing incidence of emotional disturbance among students – these and other problem were recently registeres at a meeting of experts on "the college environment and student personality". They are due, though surely not exclusively, at least to a notable extent to the changed occupational outlook for university graduates.

In the past few years there has been an increase in reforms designed to help prepare students to apply knowledge acquired at college to a future job and to design curricular that anticipate problem-solving of a more practical nature. The Framework Act for Higher Education stipulates that curricula are to be geared to occupational fields. Programs have been created for the subjects of law and teacher training, designed to integrate the first, academic phase with the second, hitherto state-supervised phase of training. A number of new fields of study have been set up, corresponding to new occupational specializations. Many efforts have been made to broaden curricula and thereby increase flexibility on the labor market. Over the past few years there has been a considerable increase in programs of guided occupational experience, similar to cooperative education programs in the United States.

Quite a number of interesting programs have been developed, but there still remains considerable controversy about the long range objectives. For example, new specializations give rise to the problem of achieving the right qualitative match between the graduate and the position. Broad notions such as "Praxisorientierung" – literally: "orientation toward practical work" – do service for any number of widely differing, conflicting concepts. In addition, there is considerable controversy about whether such reforms ought to apply to the system of higher education as a whole or only to certain sectors. Finally, programs combining academic study and occupational experience pose new curricular and organisational problems for West German universities. Since there is a strong inclination in that country toward uniformity in higher education, controversies tend to revolve around matters of principle. A further period of trial and error will be needed before new models of practice orientation can be extended for beyond a few innovative institutions.

### 3. The Extension of University Activities

It has taken longer in the Federal Republic of Germany than in many other countries for discussion to get under way about the directions in which the universities should expand their activities. This lag is of course in some part due to the fact that government financing and coordination of higher education fails to stimulate the kind of independent initiative to be found, say, in systems characterized by a more entrepreneurial pattern. An undoubtedly more important reason is the fact that for a number of years universities had their hands full coping with the great increase in students, which made it an illusion to think about expanding university functions.

Serious discussion and experimentation have recently got under way. For example, the Extension University of Hagen – founded in 1974 – now has a student body of 20,000. New universities and vocational colleges, in particular, are on the lookout for additional activities for the time when enrolment is expected to decline. Discussion in this area has however not yet begun to produce imaginative ideas. Adult or further education is the only topic that has generated more than passing interest in this area. It is doubtful, however, whether the university contribution in this respect can be expected to grow appreciably in a short period of time. One reason is that the demand for further education in general has not expanded to the extent envisioned in the euphoric

discussion on "lifelong education" and "recurrent education". A second reason is that it is apparently not easy for the universities to become adjusted to further education. What has not yet become clear is whether a greater involvement in further education will prove an advantage or detrimental to the universities' traditional programs. Third, government-financed universities have an advantage over the entrepreneurial type in that they allow candid debate on whether the university is really the institution best suited to developing further education or whether the bulk of such activities ought not to be delegated to institutions which are devoted solely to this task.

**4. Higher Education and Changing Societal Tasks**

To the extent what universities in the Federal Republic of Germany are going beyond simply consolidating the reforms of the Seventies and are seeking new areas of activity, they will be able to profit little from the past development of higher education in other countries. Instead, they will be forced to search for new, socially beneficial activities in their own country in which they can play an important part. The majority of prognoses on manpower requirements in the Federal Republic of Germany have come to the conclusion that supply will continue to exceed demand for college graduates well into the Eighties. One prognosis, based on the manpower requirements approach and published in 1978, did prophesy that the worst mismatch on the labor market will occur in an altogether different sector: that in 1990 the requirement for unskilled and semiskilled labor will reach 30% of the total labor force, while at the same time only 17% of the population will have failed to have completed some type of vocational training. It can therefore come as no surprise that in the past few years such requirements notions have begun to play a less important part in considerations about a sensible distribution of educational attainments in society. Over the past few years universities have shown growing interest in pinpointing societal tasks which give promise of providing additional occupation for graduates. Some of the more frequently mentioned activities of this nature are technological innovation in small and medium size enterprises, social work, training teachers for the children of foreign workers, aid to developing countries, extension of medical and legal services, environmental protection, training people for guidance in leisure activities. The most detailled prognosis in this respect to date, published in 1976, recommends three main programs:

improvement of housing and city development in order to compensate for the mistakes in planning and constructions made as a result of the postwar need for cheap and hasty reconstruction; expansion of social work; and preparation for increasing aid to developing countries and a growing international division of labor in the Nineties. This program envisions the creation of over one million new jobs, most of which would be for college graduates.

Such programs, however, are to some extent still colored by the concept of "post-industrial society". Harmony-conscious modernisation theories, which envision a gradual transition from a production-oriented society to what is termed the "information-oriented society", are not refuted but merely augmented by reference to problems of social integration and social inequality, the importance of social work and the need to make preparation for an international division of labor between the northern and the southern hemispheres. The dabate on the ecological crisis has gradually added a further problem to this list. It is a question, however, whether we do not need more far-reaching visions of how things should develop in the Eighties and the Nineties. In a recent conversation with the noted Polish philosopher and sociologist, Jan Szepanski, he advised that we focus discussion on the tasks of higher education in a "post-colonial" society, in his view an imperative for industrial nations at this point in history. He foresees fundamental fransformations in the organisation of work, conditions of living and in the goals of development, and he feels that we should work consciously toward achieving these transformations.

Debate can be seen to be developing in the Federal Republic of Germany on two further issues: first, on how higher education should be adapted to the problem of preventing any further widening of the gap that exists between experts and non-experts as well as to promoting integrative modes of solving problems. Second, unemployment and such other problems as the role of women have lent a certain urgency to the question of developing a new attitude toward socially relevant work – one which would lift the discrimination against those activities which up to now have not been organised as gainful employment. It should be noted, however, that the institutions of higher education are only to a limited extent the proper vehicle for putting ideas of this nature into effect. For in the first place, at a time when graduates are facing increasing difficulties finding jobs which are traditionally considred

adequate, university staff tends to be hesitant in responding to potential activities for graduates which are not yet established. Second, reforms of this scope require a much broader social basis.

**5. Higher Education and Political Priorities**

A survey recently conducted for the Ministry of Education of the State of Baden-Württemberg demonstrates forcibly that the West German universities have a very poor public image. This undoubtedly has something to do with the difference in value orientation between academic circles and the population in general. Problems created by the expansion of higher education over the past years as well as uncertainty about the job outlook for graduates have also contributed to creating this negative image. Other surveys have shown that in the past few years the prestige of university professors has markedly declined in contrast, for example, to medical doctors. Parallel to this, confidence in science has demonstrably waned. Since in the past decade public concern has turned away from education and has focussed on health, environmental protection, social security and other problems, the universities are having a hard time drumming up public support for their transition to important new activities.

It should be said that the universities' prestige reached its nadir in the political debate between 1972 and 1975. It was during these years that the strongest anti-university feeling was articulated – on the part of employers emphasizing the danger of an „academic proletariat" developing, on the part of educators complaining about the way competition for college admission had sharpened, and on the part of conservative professors in their fear that the "Reds" would gain control of the universities. And among students the notion spread that they stood to lose the fruits of all their hard labors if they failed to find employment in one of the positions traditionally considered appropriate for university graduates. Meanwhile, the accent has shifted: the market for university graduates has changed less dramatically than originally feared. Politicians have come to the conclusion that to restrict college admission at a time when the age groups between 15 and 20 are growing year by year would have the effect of creating a larger contingent of unskilled labor in these age groups. Persistent unemployment has increased readiness to support programs for creating new employment opportunities which utilize the specific

skills of college graduates. Conservative professors have regained their self-confidence both in the halls of academe and in the mass media. A recent statement by the German Economic Institute went so far as to term it a danger of the greatest magnitude that young people could be so disheartened by negative reports about the university and labor market situations that they could develop a negative attitude.

In these discussions much emphasis was placed on the question of whether special measures ought to be taken to make better use of the skills and competence university and college graduates have attained. Up to that time, the main thrust of the German government's economic and social policy was to stimulate the economy so as to achieve a growth level capable of bringing about close to full employment. In this way, graduates were to be absorbed without the need for any special programs to ensure that their knowledge be utilized. In recent years, however, readiness has become apparent to make certain compromises in the direction of establishing employment programs for college graduates which are geared to societal needs. Since the main purpose of such programs has been to use this as an anticyclical measure in the interest of maintaining economic growth and not to effect a major change in policy, it should come as no surprise to occasionally hear the feeling expressed that no fundamental rethinking of employment policy is likely before the economic situation has worsened.

In 1976 and 1977 Federal and State governments agreed upon a policy at "opening". This involves keeping access to the universities to a large extent open while at the same time accomodating for the temporary glut of students by overloading, rather than appreciably expanding facilities up to some time after the mid-Eighties. This means that for a number of years to come opportunities for curricular reform and teaching experiments, for more intensive counselling, intensification of research and for expanding university activities will be curtailed, at least so far as the major part of higher education is concerned. The so-called "overload" could then be expected to gradually disappear in the second half of the Eighties, making time and energy available for new developments. Of course, it could just as well turn out that if the overload becomes accepted as the norm, State and Federal governments could be tempted to curtail financial resources the minute the demographic bulge levels out. Much will surely depend on whether universities in the Federal

Republic of Germany set out well in advance to work out convincing concepts and models for coping with the changes expected for the Eighties.

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# NOTES ON HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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Indonesian higher education is at once very young and very old. Thirty years ago, there were only three institutions that might properly be called universities and they graduated fewer than 1000 students a year. Today there are nearly 300 institutions who claim university status, producing 20,000 graduates annually. Thus rapid quantitative growth has been achieved in a short time and growth will continue into the indefinite period as both the popular demand for university places and the social demand for highly trained manpower are far from satisfied.

While the system is young in terms of its growth cycle, it seems to have lost much of the idealism and vitality often associated with youth. In the pre-independence period through the mid-sixties, university professors and especially student leaders were at the forefront of social change, sharply criticizing the established regimes and often developing innovative programs to assist the people. However, over the last decade many student leaders have been imprisoned and the major student groups have been virtually muzzled by the no-nonsense development-first military regime which came into power in 1966.

Most faculty also have been pressured or lulled into complacency. On the one hand, the government has clarified through both informal sanctions and occasional formal statements the narrow range of criticism it will tolerate. If anything, policy in this regard has stiffened as exemplified by the central government's recent decree that all rectors and deans at national universities would henceforth be appointed from the center rather than elected from below. These policies have substantially muted the expression of deviant views by university staff. On the other hand, the government has significantly improved

the working conditions of faculty. At most national universities, student-teacher ratios do not exceed ten to one and faculty are unlikely to teach more than four hours a week. Formerly, professors could not expect government support for their research activities and hence pursued these on their own. The new regime has placed considerable emphasis on research as a basis for planning development and thus has awarded many projects to universities. These projects invariably include substantial honoraria for all participating researchers. Indeed, many professors have become so accustomed to receiving projects, that they refuse to engage in other forms of research. While few are provided offices on campus or research laboratories, an increasing proportion are provided homes. Salaries, while modest, when supplemented by various honoraria, are sufficient; in contrast, ten years ago university salaries covered no more than one-third of a typical professor's household expenditures. In addition, today, faculty receive free rice, medical care, and other supplements.

**The Performance of Indonesian Higher Education**

These material improvements have led many faculty to conclude that things are getting better, even to conclude that the current situation in Indonesian higher education is adequate. Unfortunately, the little reliable information that has been collected on Indonesian higher education suggests a very different picture: by international standards, Indonesian higher education is remarkably unproductive, inefficient, and irrelevant.

1. In terms of per cent of the age cohort enrolled, Indonesia has reached 2.0 per cent, a comparable to other Southeast Asian nations and well above that of several African states. However, in Indonesia only a small fraction of those enrolled complete their degrees.
2. Less than ten percent of all students complete their first degree in the expected time. Less than 50 percent of higher education entrants ever complete their first degree. Apparently, only five percent complete the second degree or *sarjana*, yet this is the degree all students aspire to upon entrance and the degree towards which university curriculums are designed. Thus despite a sizeable enrolled student body, Insonesia has relatively few university graduates.
3. Even those who complete their university degree are likely to be poorly trained lacking in basic skills and especially in the ability to apply them,

weak in foreign languages, and unfamiliar with the international literature relevant to their discipline. Moreover, graduates are often short in the moral and motivational qualities consistent with a dedicated attack on the nation's difficult development problems.

4. There is virtually no evidence on what happens to students once they receive their degree. However, informal reports suggest they usually have to spend many months searching for jobs, and many fail to obtain a job related to their training. An extreme case is the teacher training institute IKIP Jakarta where, according to one report, only 6% of the institute's graduates become teachers.

An effort to explain this performance would consider the following factors:

1. The Dutch colonial government invested little in education, especially education for Indonesians in their own language. At the beginning of World War II, the Dutch government supported three higher educational institutions primarily intended to educate the children of Dutch civil servants or Indonesians who wished to join the civil service. These institutions used Dutch as the language of instruction and relied extensively on expatriate staff for this instruction. With independence, most of the expatriates left significantly depleting the stock of university- level teachers.
2. Moreover, with independence, the language of instruction at all levels in Indonesia was shifted to bahasa Indonesia. This language was widely spoken in Indonesia but had little "history." Thus, there were few books in the language or few people who were true masters of its grammar and syntax. Much effort had to be spent over the past thirty years in simply mastering this language and institutionalizing its use.
3. Only since the mid-seventies have most school children been able to study with textbooks. School libraries and even books to fill them are scarce. Thus few of those young people who are entering universities today are skillful and motivated readers in their native language. At the same time, it is the exceptional university entrant today who has adequate command of a foreign language. Most university entrants, even today, are not prepared for higher education.
4. Universities, rather than accepting the fact of student ill-preparedness, and developing remedial procedures to bring students up to the accepted level cling to the continental tradition of placing the responsibility on

students. Few students are equal to the challenge.

5. Faculty, themselves, are by and large products of the same impoverished educational system as students. Most have received their education in Indonesia. Only 10% have been overseas for advanced study and less than 6% have a doctorate.
6. Aggravating all these deficiencies has been the tendency for the system to expand rapidly and virtually without a plan. On the one hand, some have proposed that national resources be focused in a few institutions so as to insure centers of excellence. However, the strongest voice has been for equality; thus at least one national institution is now located in each province. Likewise, the private and religious sectors have been allowed rapid growth in order to absorb the rapidly increasing popular demand for higher education.
7. Finally, there are complex political factors which have both shaped and restricted the development of Indonesian higher education.

The task of explaining low performance must be reserved for another occasion. Here, our concern is with the future.

**Looking to the Future**

The contemporary system of higher education has developed in the absence of a national plan. It is large, diverse, and inadequate. Yet until recently, few have been critical of the system. However, now this situation is changing. On the one hand, we find that the central government is attempting to assert firm leadership. It has begun planning for the development of what is called "a national system" of higher education. To strengthen this effort, in 1979, a prestigious National Commission on Education was formed to develop reform proposals. The anticipated direction of some of the proposals will be noted below. On the other hand, we find today a renewed expression of student and faculty activism. This activism is primarily political in character aimed at creating incidents which will mar the image of the current military regime as it attempts to consolidate its position for the 1982 national elections. Proposals by the center for higher educational reform are likely to be opposed by these activists in the hope of generating political tension. The outcome may be a negation of central initiatives or, more hopefully, the discovery of a middle way. While we cannot be certain of the precise content of all future

developments, the following generalizations will apply.

1. First we can predict a rapid expansion of student demand fanned by the rising standard of living as well as by the sharply increased educational opportunities at the primary and secondary levels. Of particular importance, due to the impressive school building program, is the step-level increase in school participation of the cohort that entered primary school in 1979. Those who were in the third grade of primary school in 1973 will begin competing for places in higher education circa 1981–82, those who began primary school in 1973 may be ready for higher education in 1985–86. Particularly by this latter date the pressure for places in higher education will rapidly accelerate.
2. While an increase in numbers is predicted, there is little reason to predict significant improvements in the level of preparedness of university aspirants, at least for the near future. The fact of expansion itself is part of the reason for pessimism; as increasing numbers enter higher education, a smaller proportion can be expected to excell in academic ability. In addition, there is little basis for expecting an increase in the quality of pre-university education during this period. Primary and secondary schools are still experimenting with new texts: many schools have yet to receive their texts and most teachers do not adequately understand how to teach with the new materials. Thus far, there are no significant plans for improving the foreign language ability of pre-university students. Also there are no major programs in operation to promote school libraries or good reading habits. Thus the quality of university entrants will continue to be low.
3. Whereas in the past government planning vis-a-vis higher education was "random", more detailed targets are now being established. In Repelita III, the government projects a substantial expansion of higher education. As outlined in Table 1, the government projects more rapid expansion in the public than the private sector. And, responding to the low quality of entrants, a new emphasis is being placed on diploma programs as contrasted to the traditional degree programs (regular).
4. To realize expansion, the government is planning a massive program of plant development along with an accelerated program of staff development. Large amounts have been requested from external donors as well as from

internal development funds. To a considerable extent these requests are being honored with the result that annual expenditures for higher education over the next several years are likely to more than double in real terms.

Table 1. **Official Projection of the Increase in the Numbers ( in thousand ) of Students in Higher Education, 1979-84**

| | 1979/80 | 1980/81 | 1981/82 | 1982/83 | 1983/84 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Number of Students | 354.1 | 395.6 | 447.5 | 504.5 | 553.0 |
| Public Sector | 217.5 | 247.5 | 283.3 | 321.3 | 350.0 |
| Regular | 207.0 | 220.0 | 234.3 | 251.4 | 271.8 |
| Diploma | 10.5 | 27.5 | 49.0 | 69.9 | 78.2 |
| Private Sector | 136.6 | 148.1 | 164.2 | 183.2 | 203.0 |
| Regular | 136.0 | 144.8 | 150.8 | 156.5 | 162.4 |
| Diploma | 0 | 3.3 | 13.4 | 26.7 | 40.6 |
| Percent of Academic High School (SMA) Graduates in given year that can continue to Higher Education | 64.30 | 64.49 | 64.66 | 64.75 | 64.82 |
| Students in Higher Education as a percent of population aged 19-24 | 2.2 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 3.1 |

Source: Replita III, p. 17. 49

5. A small group of hard-working reformers are now located in central government offices or committees and consortiums sponsored by these central offices. It is these reformers who hope to shift future expansion from a random to a more systematic basic. It is these same people who have successfully promoted a major governmental order on higher education which among other changes:

1) transfers the power of appointment of the officers at public universities from a local to a centralized basis.

2) requires all universities to conform to a common set of standards for granting academic degrees organized around a curriculum format of 140 credit hours.

The reformers hope to introduce significant changes in university

administration and the quality of classroom instruction. These reformers have been able to gain approval for a new national centre for research on university reform. If all goes according to schedule this center will be established sometime in 1980.

The problem the reformers face is that they are all too busy. Each is so central to the activities either of their government offices or their particular universities that they have relatively little time to devote to focussed efforts at reform. Reform is a part-time activity. Thus the new center for university reform will not, according to current plans, have full-time professional staff.

6. From the same offices that promote reform also come requests for the control of higher education. The program to normalize campuses is one example: The new order enabling the center to appoint university presidents enables the center to appoint reformers or repressers. Rarely are these two talents well combined in a single leader. Thus, the new trend towards centralization and systematization have built-in contradictions.

7. What is more, individual universities are not fully prepared to accept central leadership. There will inevitably be resistance to control proposals and orders, often for very good reasons. The resolution of these conflicts will depend on the respective resources of the contenders. Thus higher education will become more politicized. It may become increasingly difficult to predict the outcome of particular proposals for change, particularly those initiated at the center.

**Conclusion**

Indonesian higher education is inadequate, but until recently this was not acknowledged. Even today, many faculty believe that they and their institutions are doing a good job. Lulled by improving working conditions and threatened by repressive policies, these faculty are unprepared to promote change. If higher education were left in their hands the future would be dark. However, fortunately, there is a smaller group of reformers who have begun to plan for an upgrading of higher education and the development of a national system. Clouding the prospects for their success is an emerging climate of campus activism and opposition to central interference. Precisely how Indonesian higher education will weather the future storm remains to be seen.

One factor that we have not considered in this paper is the role of foreign donors. On the horizon, we can see foreign donors mobilizing for massive grants to Indonesian higher education. Most of the donors have taken an essentially passive approach to their programs: that is, they have responded to specific Indonesian requests. It may be advisable, given both the magnitude of the problems of Indonesian higher education and the precariousness of the current political climate, for these donors to take a more active approach. Through a more probing analysis of the current situation, they might be able to suggest areas for reform that are otherwise likely to be ignored: important possibilities here are for greater emphasis on the quality of instruction, the development of core curriculums that integrate the concerns of related faculties, the improvement of management techniques, and the generation of basic statistics on the performance of Indonesian higher education.

# HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE 1980s: SOME KEY ISSUES IN WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES*

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Anniversaries marking the turn of a decade are particularly favourable occasions for stimulating reflections on past experiences and fourmulating hopes, intentions and concerns about the future. The coming of the year 1980, combined with the critical social and economic circumstances has led to a similar mood within the world of higher education. Hence the numerous articles, books and reports, seminars and international conferences focussing on forecasts, desired objectives and expected constraints likely to affect the development of higher education in the course of the 1980s.

A common feature of most of the writings and discussions on the future of higher education is the reference to uncertainty, no doubt because this is one of the few safe and uncontroversial assumptions which can be made these days. The positive implication of "planning for uncertainty" is that it involves a commitment to organise and manage higher education institutions so as to enhance their flexibility and enable them to be better prepared to cope with sudden and unforeseen changes.

However, there are also some dangers in overstating uncertainty, especially when this concept is associated too exclusively with the influence of external factors. One of these dangers is that of reinforcing a passive, sometimes defeatist attitude. Indeed, educational policy-makers who overstress the need for greater adaptability and responsiveness are often prone to abstain from formulating clear guidelines and directives based on long-term objectives and functions which formal education must fulfill, whatever the prevailing cir-

cusmtances. For even when these objectives may sometimes conflict with the more immediate pressures or temporary fashions, in the long term they constitute an essential base for ensuring the legitimacy of, and public confidence in, the educational enterprise. Lack of a firm and dynamic educational policy is not only detrimental to education itself but might weaken the position and power of educational decisionmakers; it makes their plans and proposals more vulnerable and dependant on pressures of established groups, many of which do not necessarily represent the public interest.

It can also be argued that an attitude of passive acceptance of uncertainty as the dominating feature of future events carries with it the risk of neglecting a number of current problems within the education systems which can and should be urgently confronted. Indeed, to a large extent, the problems and issues to be faced in the 1980s and beyond are conditioned by many of the features of today's higher education institutions, their internal conflicts and dilemmas. If these features and conflicts are not properly understood, reform strateties for the coming years will not be effective. Therefore, under no circumstances should arguments in favour of a type of policy which attempts to shape and control the future development of education be interpreted as desregarding the need for a greater openness of the higher education world to the changing requirements of our societies.

Given the impossibility of addressing the theme of the Seminar in a comprehensive way, the present paper will focus on three key topics among a far wider range of concerns under discussion in the 24 Member countries of OECD. Also, in order to narrow the geographical scope of the paper, examples will be drawn mainly from continental Western Europe.

The first theme relates to the future quantitative development of higher education systems, particularly the inevitability of change in the light of the consequences of the falling birth rates of the 1960s. The second theme concerns the changing links between secondary and higher education and the problems likely to arise as a result of the growing uncoupling or dissociation in the development of both these levels. The third theme refers to the emergence of a new split within higher education, a split which is less related to the old academically-based distinction between university and non-university higher education and concerns the present employment value of the various programmes or fields of study.

## 1. The Future Size and Composition of the Student Body in Higher Education

At present, in many of the OECD countries one of the major concerns among educational policy makers and academics relates to the number of students likely to be attending higher education institutions in the course of the next two decades. The stagnation, in a few cases the decrease in transfer rates from secondary to hgiher education(i.e. the proportion of qualified school leavers proceeding directly to higher education) witnessed in recent years, the expected impact of demographic trends, seen against the background of greater financial difficulties, is giving rise to fears of a sharp decline in enrolments in the coming decade. As seen from the enclosed graphs, by the mid 1980s a significant number of OECD countries will enter the phase of a substantial decline of the age groups normally entering into higher education, a decline which for some will become particularly serious in the early 1990s.

In most West European countries and especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, the magnitude of the expected decrease in the typical college age groups is such that it is bound to lead to significant changes in patterns of higher education. The main question is in what direction will change take place.

Basically, three scenarios can be envisaged. In the first place, should current participation rates remain what they are (including the possibility of slight upward or downward variations) this will inevitably lead to an overall contraction of higher education – even if some sectors may remain unaffected – which will pose the typical problems of "planning and management for decline".

Both the second and the third options (which are not mutually exclusive), namely the access to higher education of a larger proportion of secondary school leavers and/or the growing participation of adults, are also certain to bring about significant changes of higher education: far greater diversity in the composition of the student body, in terms of background, talents, interests, etc., which in turn will require substantial reforms of higher education structures, access conditions, finance, organisation and content of studies. Clearly, it is impossible in liberal democratic societies to shape the development of higher education through simple normative policies and directives. But there is still ample scope for planning approaches and actions beyond mere forecasting and passive projections of what eventually may happen, actions which

may enhance the possibility of attaining desired objectives.

In quite a number of Western European countries, and at various decision-making levels, the debate on feasible and desirable options for change has been launched. In Sweden[1] and Denmark[2], for example, where the debate on the future of higher education has been explicitly linked to long-term global objectives of society, major reforms are under way so as to favour the participation of adults and promote recurrent or lifelong education. Among these reforms mention should be made of new access regulations and admission procedures which give formal recognition to work experience and enable mature candidates to compete under separate quotas when applying to highly selective institutions. In 1977, in Sweden 58% of total enrolments in higher education were above 25 years. In Finland the present policy favours the entry to higher education of young school leavers from vocational schools. A proposal now being discussed is that by the mid-1980s, 25% of all the first year places be reserved for students other than those who have attended academic secondary schools. A common and significant feature of these three Scandinavian countries is that, for the coming years, they have set limits on the overall expansion of higher education and that within these limits, they aim at achieving a more equal distribution among the various social and/or age groups.

In countries where an enrolment stabilization has already set in, there is rising interest in identifying the factors which underly the disaffection of qualified school leavers for further studies, especially in order to find out what changes are likely to be most effective in stimulating the demand of talented young people who now either do not qualify for, or opt out of higher education.

However, European OECD countries are increasingly aware that in the long run, given the drastic fall in the 18-24 year groups, the future of many higher education institutions will largely depend on their ability to attract an older clientele. It is in this respect that higher education policies in the coming years will have to show ingenuity and imagination. A mere passive response to autonomous trends will not suffice; specific target groups will have to be identified, outreach activities developed, appropriate incentives created and, most important, methods and content of studies will have to be adapted to these groups.

## 2. Changing Links Between Secondary and Higher Education

Comparative studies on the quantitative development of higher education have shown that in the past the single most important factor in determining rates of growth at this level has been the evolution in the number of qualified secondary school leavers, in particular those coming from general or academic streams[3]. This correlation between the development of secondary and higher education has been especially significant during the period of expansion. In recent years it has for several reasons loosened up. First and most important, in quite a number of countries (France, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom) the proportion of qualified school leavers proceeding directly to higher education (transfer rates) has decreased, a decrease which is of special significance when considering only those students coming from the traditional pre-university streams. In the Federal Republic of Germany transfer rates dropped from 90% in the late 1960s to close to 66% in 1978. Secondly, a few countries (Sweden, Norway) have witnessed a substantial increase in the number of adult students entering post-secondary education.

The drop in transfer rates and the slowdown in the growth of higher education represent quite a radical deviation from the forecasts made in the late 1960s. At that time it was assumed that, given the relatively low participation rates at the upper secondary level and thus the large potential for further growth, the continuous development of secondary education in Western European countries would eventually lead to participation rates at the higher education level close to those of the United States.[4]

The economic recession of the mid-1970s and its social consequences are no doubt at the root of some of the changing patterns in demand for higher education. However, it can also be argued that certain distinctive features of the European educational systems, in particular the structure of their upper secondary schools account to some extent for the disparities between earlier forecasts and the more recent developments.

One feature is linked to the difference in the age distribution of students. Whereas in the United States and Japan, the majority of the 18-year-olds are enrolled at the tertiary level, in most of the Western European countries especially Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands, Scandinavian countries, the same age group, as well as a relatively high proportion of the 19-year-olds, are enrolled at the secondary level. This means that under present schooling

conditions, even if European countries were aiming to achieve global enrolment ratios comparable with those of the United States, this would not necessarily lead to a similar expansion of their post-secondary systems.

Another distinctive feature of the European secondary school system is linked to its structural aspects. Contrary to the comprehensive American type of high schools, the curricula and patterns of studies at the upper secondary level in all European countries – including those considered as comprehensive – continues to be organised around a certain number of clearly defined and highly structured streams or lines of study. These include a large vocational sector preparing pupils for an employment qualification and only exceptionally for direct entrance into post-secondary education.

All of these features imply that European upper secondary schools are fulfilling quite a number of functions which in the United State and possibly also in Japan are being carried out by different post-secondary institutions.

A number of recent proposals and reforms in the realm of secondary as well as of higher education appear as contributing towards a further uncoupling in the development of both these levels.

At the upper secondary level the majority of OECD European countries are adopting policies aimed at an expansion of this sector whilst trying to avoid that the last years of secondary education be considered only or primarily as an intermediate stage requiring the immediate pursuit of studies at the post-secondary level. Although a wider range of upper secondary streams now qualify for tertiary education, the direction of reform is towards maintaining or even strengthening their terminal vocational orientation and value. Some of the Scandinavian countries and Yugoslavia are seriously envisaging the "professionalisation" of traditional academic lines of study which up till now had as their unique function the selection and preparation for entry into higher education.

Several recent reforms of admission conditions to higher education have also weakened the traditional close and privileged link between academic secondary education and universities. A major characteristic of these reforms is that they imply a combination of greater restrictions on access, and particularly on choice of studies, for those wishing to enter higher education immediately after completing general secondary education with the opening of new access possibilities for adult and/or those without the traditional sec-

ondary school qualifications.

The trend to define in far broader terms the aims and functions of upper secondary education, and to develop polyvalent lines of study where the preparation for formal post-secondary education is seen as an important but not unique role, may well contribute to further conflicts of interests and tensions between the two levels. Groups primarily committed to secondary school reform, taking into account the wide range of talents and interests of a growing number of pupils attending this level, are likely to advocate changes in curricula, assessment and certification procedures considered to be ill-suited to the requirements set by higher education institutions, in particular by the more selective ones. On the other hand, interest groups within the academic world will no doubt strive to maintain or improve criteria of performance at the secondary level which correspond to their own definition of standards and quality.5)

In the light of the growing risks of sharper future conflicts or of undue subordination of one sector to the other, a crucial challenge will be that of ensuring a type of articulation between upper secondary and higher education which implies recognition and acceptance of their common values but also of their distinctive functions and objectives. Given the hierarchical power structure of European educational systems, in which the top educational levels exercised a considerable degree of control and influence over the lower ones, decisions taken within higher education, in particular those pertaining to access, are likely to have a significant impact on the chances of this mutual adaptation.

It can thus be foreseen that admission policies and practices in higher education will constitute a major area of concern in the 1980s, not only because of their obvious relevance in shaping the future of higher and of lifelong or recurrent education, but also and increasingly as a key element of reform strategies at the secondary level.

### 3. Towards a New Pecking Order in Higher Education

During the 1960s, comparative studies on the quantitative and structural development of post-secondary education have introduced systematically the distinction between university-type and 'non-university-type' higher education. This classification made it possible to highlight the existence and grow-

ing significance of a wide range of post-secondary institutions which, given the traditional view of equating higher education with university studies, have been disregarded in past comparative work. Studies of the dichotomy between the "noble" university and the "less noble" non-university components of higher education have also shown that one of the most difficult problems of an adequate diversification of the tertiary sector was the dominance and prestige of universities and of the prevailing academic values.[6] Post-secondary institutions concerned with gaining higher status and parity of esteem strived to adopt many of the typical features of universities (academic drift) and in the process were inclined to neglect those functions which contributed precisely to the greater diversity of the system. At the time the following warning was formulated: 'Clearly prestige and quality differences will exist among individual institutions and in this sense more and less noble universities and colleges; what is important is that these differences do not apply to whole categories of institutions, e.g. university versus non-university sectors.[7]

The evolution followed at least partially this postulate. In the first place, the extraordinary expansion of higher education has contributed to enhance diversity and prestige differences within both sectors, thus decreasing their homogeneity. Also with the changing labour market situation, the dominance of strictly academic criteria has declined at the same time as growing importance started to be assigned to the employment value of different types of higher education. Thus a different order of preferences seems to have emerged. The ranking of institutions and programmes in the new pecking order is still conditioned by their academic standing but also, and to a far greater extent than in the past, by their perceived job relevance.

The blurring of the past clear-cut distinctions and prestige differences between university and non-university institutions furthered the cause of many non-university establishments at the same time as it weakened the attraction of a number of university programmes. It is now quite common in many continental West Eruopean countries to have a strong competition for entry into short cycle courses and at the same time a slackening demand and empty places in certain university faculties, mainly in the humanities, social sciences and pure sciences.

The growing importance assigned to the immediate employment value of higher education options is also bringing about sharper hierarchical distinc-

tions among fields of study and/or institutions both within the university and the non-university sectors.

The "noble" faculties or programmes in strong demand and increasingly selective, are those rating high both in terms of their academic standing and employment value. Whatever scenario is chosen for the coming decade, their future seems to be, from all points of view (student demand, institutional prestige, government support), well assured.

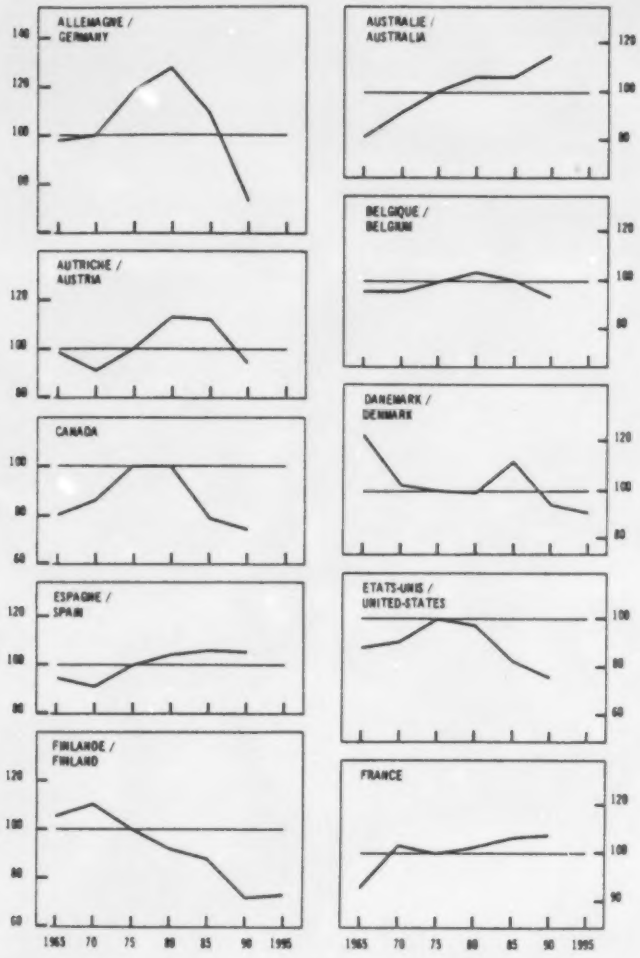
Of greater interest and concern for the present discussion are the problems faced by university programmes which traditionally had a high academic ranking and prestige but which under the combined effects of massive expansion, the declining employment value of their degrees and consequent changes in student choices risk becoming increasingly unattractive and "less noble" options. These programmes, which as already mentioned, are more often found in faculties of humanities, social sciences, pure sciences, recruit a growing number of low-motivated students: students previously rejected by other selective institutions or those who enrol realising their slim chances in the competition for entry into the prestige higher education fields; students accumulating credits awaiting entry into other selective university courses; young secondary school graduates "parking" for lack of job opportunities etc. The intended or unintended consequences of certain government policies such as the re-allocation of resources in favour of options with immediate employment value is also an aggravating factor. Finally, the trend among senior academic staff members to neglect or move away from undergraduate programmes and the increasing difficulties of teaching a very heterogeneous student body, render the task of maintaining high academic standards of these courses more and more difficult.

Thus a major task for policy-makers in the coming years will be that of preventing disciplines or areas of university studies considered to have low employment value to be further downgraded in the higher education hierarchy by a lowering of their academic standards. If gifted young people with a genuine interest and vocation should be increasingly discouraged from enrolling in these courses, certain areas of knowledge will seriously risk a gradual loss of talent, creativity and research capacity. The unequal distribution of talent among the disciplines and the professions resulting from the widening gap between different fields of study will be highly detrimental both to higher education as such and to society as a whole.

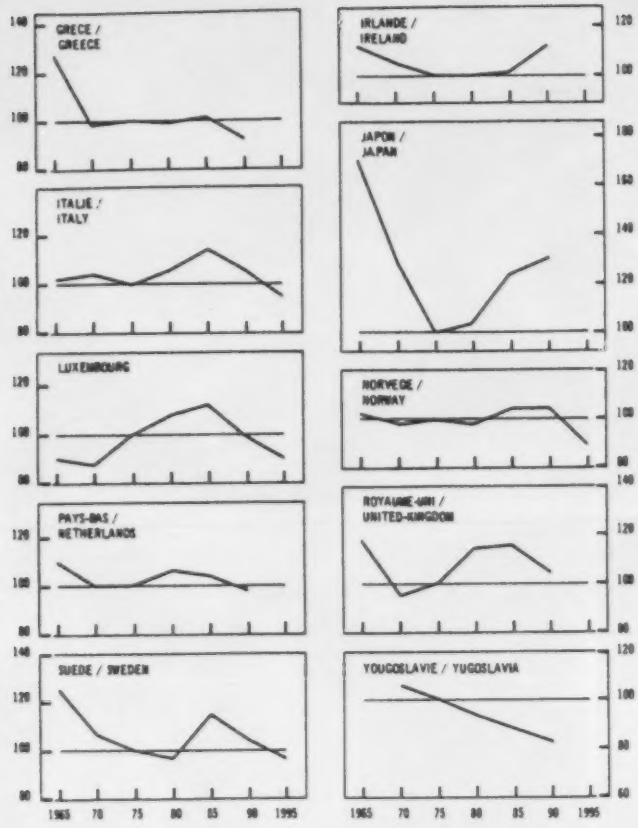
To conclude I would like to reaffirm that no attempt has been made to undertake an exhaustive review of the key issues of West European higher education in the 1980s. The three topics discussed above are central areas of concern but no doubt educational policy-makers will have to deal with other issues in such diverse areas as access, financing of higher education, the changing links between higher education and employment, planning and co-ordination of higher education etc.

Common problems in all these areas will very likely lead to quite different solutions as national policies for higher education will increasingly depend on the priorities, political climate and the constraints in each country. The great value of international gatherings such as the Hiroshima Seminar is to introduce, through an exchange of ideas and experiences, a more global perspective of the difficulties and dilemmas to be faced. They constitute a unique analytical tool which can greatly contribute to a better understanding of present developments in higher education, an essential step to the formulation of appropriate policies for the future.

**Growth Index of The Age Group Reaching Higher Education Between 1965 and 1995*(1975 Age Group = 100)**




* Tables taken from: Development of Post Secondary Education in OECD Countries since 1965, ( OECD Internal Document 1979, pp. 24-25.)


GRECE / GREECE
IRLANDE / IRELAND
ITALIE / ITALY
JAPON / JAPAN
LUXEMBOURG
NORVEGE / NORWAY
PAYS-BAS / NETHERLANDS
ROYAUME-UNI / UNITED-KINGDOM
SUEDE / SWEDEN
YOUGOSLAVIE / YUGOSLAVIA
1965 70 75 80 85 90 1995

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* The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of OECD.

# VI

# SUMMARY AND REPORT OF DISCUSSIONS

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The Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education was convened from January 29-31, 1980 to consider "Higher Education for the 1980s – Challenges and Responses." Just as in Hiroshima University's First Seminar held in April of 1976 on "Perspectives for the Future System of Higher Education," a large multinational group of distinguished educators and officials participated in lively and insightful discussions.

Whereas the first seminar had expressed a basic theme of optimism for the future of higher education, the participants of the second seminar had mixed feelings about the eighties. Professor Michiya Shimbori of Hiroshima University, in summarizing one of the sessions made the following observation; Mr Kitamura is a philosopher in background and Mr. Bowen is a dismal economist. Yet contrary to his background, Mr. Bowen has expressed an idealistic and optimistic view that higher education will continue to expand and diversify until it creates many "natios of educated people." And Mr. Kitamura, contrary to his background, his presented the realistic and pessimistic view that higher educational change is decelerating. Indeed the contrasting views of the Second Hiroshima International Seminar on Higher Education.

Whereas the First Seminar was visionary and dealt in global trends, the Second Seminar was more concrete and highlighted emerging variations in national systems. The second seminar devoted more attention to strategies and policies.

In this report, we will bring together the major themes of the seminar's

discussions. Thanks to the thoughtful planning by our Hiroshima hosts, these themes tended to emerge consecutively as the seminar progressed. However, where important thoughts on particular themes appeared at different points during the discussions, we have brought them together.

The Seminar was fortunate to have participants with such a rich deversity of personal experiences. While all participated as individuals, these differences in background often accounted for spirited debates around the central themes. Isao Amagi, former Vice Minister of Education, Science and Culture in concluding comments referred to himself as an authentic notorious bureaucrat. Michio Nagai, who in moving through the worlds of government, higher education, and the press has worn more hats than anyone can count, confessed that he strived always to be a "marginal man". Likewise, V. Selvaratnam and William Cummings from the third world along with Jonchol Kim from Korea and Robert McCaig from Australia were most outspoken in reminding the seminar that higher education had both national and international responsibilities. In contrast, university professors T. J. Pempel, Burton Clark, and Alexander Astin expressed deep concern for the future of academic freedom as these international interest impinge on the life of individual universities. As reporters, we will note the links between the direction of debate and the personal background of participants.

**1. A New Global Perspective for Higher Education**

Following warm greetings to an audience of over 200 by President Haruo Takeyama of Hiroshima University, Professor Masao Seki of the university's Research Institute for Higher Education opened the special session on *Social Change and Higher Education.* Michio Nagai, former Minister of Education, Science and Culture began this session with a brilliant overview of the changing functions of higher education. Citing A. H. Halseay's well-known thesis, Nagai noted how higher education had moved through the stages of (1) investigating classical knowledge for professional and clerical education to (2) general knowledge for elites into (3) the twentieth century's preoccupation with technical and practical knowledge for nation-states and societies. For Nagai, the new challenge will be for higher education to develop knowledge concerning the global system in which we live. Nagai observed that higher education by the third stage had already begun to develop area and international studies, but

these were inevitably flavored by the national contexts they were asked to serve. Nagai insisted that some component of the future higher educational system will have to explore the problems confronting our world from a truly global perspective. Nagai was thus proposing a new function for higher education. At the same time, he reminded participants that higher education should not forget its earlier functions; in particular, he emphasized higher education's role in producing social criticism and in enabling students to develop a critical perspective.

**2. New Sectors in the System of Tertiary Education**

Nagai observed how, in higher education's first stage, the medieval university was the main institutional component. However, over time new institutions emerged – the general colleges, technical colleges, proprietary schools, extension and correspondence schools. Most recently, we are witnessing a significant expansion of educational and research facilities within corporations and government bureaus to serve their interests. Also, the mass media is becoming a major force for higher education, particularly proving more effective than the traditional universities in collecting information and carrying out analyses on current events. Finally, Nagai observed that a new sector of international educational institutions was emerging, including the new United Nations University as well as the various international research institutes and other such bodies.

The *spectre* of this new and more variegated system raised three questions that were to recur throughout the conference: (1) what will be the structure of the new system? (2) where will the critical perspective be generated? (3) what will be the respective contents of the various sectors? Underlying the last two questions was a feeling on the part of many that a distinction needed to be made between the mechanical process of schooling and the richer process of education. Nagai stressed the need for interaction between the various sectors. Other participants were more explicit in stressing the dynamic tension that will emerge as the various sectors compete with each other to obtain clientele and produce results. Indicative of this tension, Tetsuya Kobayashi of Kyoto University suggested that the overall system be referred to as tertiary education whereas the phrase "higher" education should be reserved for the traditional sector of universities and colleges, for Kobayashi felt the traditional

sector would continue to be the principal source of thoughtful education whereas the newer sectors would tend to focus on schooling.

To the reporters, it was interesting to note the extent to which participants focused on the schooling and educational functions while neglecting issues that emerge from the research function. Few comments were addressed to the desirable place for "Big Science" or to the strain between applied and basic research. Similarly, in contrast to the sixties where Big Science was felt to be threatening the integrity of university education, no participant directly raised this issue. However, the issue was indirectly dealt with when Joseph Pittau, President of Sophia University, proposed the need for improvements in general education and expressed admiration for innovations like Harvard Unversity's new core curriculum.

### 3. The Structure of Higher Education

Whereas Michio Nagai introduced the issue of future structure, Burton Clark, Professor and Chairman of Yale University's Higher Education Research Group, noted that central government everywhere was becoming the single most important environment for higher education. He argued that the social justice, competence, and flexibility of higher education were likely to be among the issues most frequently addressed by national governments over the next decade, and that the structure to come would reflect the outcome of these debates. Clark lucidly outlined the conflicts that would emerge in these debates, and then identified several structural principles that could minimize these conflicts. Above all, he anticipated the structural diversification of systems, and while institutional hierarchies would be maintained within systems he hoped that incentives would develop to encourage particular institutions to strive for mobility. Clark proposed equality of entry on the grounds of merit as the operational concept of social justice most compatible with the two other rational interests he was considering. Finally, Clark observed how national debates in the past had led to radical and destabilizing shifts in national policies; he expressed his hope that nations, because since they now appreciating the danger of pursuing fads, would in the eighties strive for greater balance.

While Professor Clark did not indicate the likely direction of debates in particular nations, he emphasized the inevitability of national differences. This theme was to become the focus of the discussion surrounding "In Search

of a System of Post Secondary Education", presented by Professor Kazuyuki Kitamura of Hiroshima University's Research Institute for Higher Education. Professor Kitamura's principle focus was on Martin Trow's well known thesis that all systems of higher education are destined to move from an elite through a mass to a universal-access stage of higher education. Over this progression, systems according to Trow are expected to expand their goals, diversify their structures, and attract clientele from increasingly diverse segments of the population. While Kitamura professed his continuing appreciation of this thesis, he observed that it is no more than an attempt to generalize the America with higher education. And in Kitamura's judgement, it has become increasingly evident that the American experience is unlikely to be replicated elsewhere. First, he observed that most European systems have been slow to move out of the elite stage or expand in the manner Trow predicted. Secondly, he observed that even in Japan which has made the greatest strides towards mass higher education, the student clientele are very much restricted in terms of their ages and their educational goals. Kitamura saw very few signs to predict major increases in European enrollments, in traditional higher education over the next decade or a diversification of the student body which could be accepted by traditional universities and colleges, in Japan. Thus he expressed his view that the American structure would not be replicated elsewhere, but rather that the various national systems would develop their particular structures.

Hiroshi Kida, Derector of Japan's National Institute for Educational Research, while agreeing with Kitamura's thesis of national diversification, nevertheless disputed the pessimistic view that the student bodies of Japanese universities would not diversify. In Kida's view, already more adult students were entering Japanese universities, and he expected this trend to accelerate.

A number of participants pointed to national factors of interest. In response to the inquiry by Dorotea Furth, Head of OECD's Higher Education Division, about the opportunities for adults to enter Japanese universities, Isao Amagi pointed out that the opportunities are there but that few adults are likely to respond to these. In explanation, Amagi noted how the American and, to a lesser extent, European employment systems are based on the market-system with adults returning to universities to pick up marketable skills. In contrast, Japanese adults join organizations which provide them with lifelong employment; these organizations create many internal learning experiences

for employees but would doubt the royalty of an employee who asks for leave to pursue an opportunity in a traditional university. Joseph Pittau, agreeing with Amagi's observation that Japan offers many on-the-job educational experiences, also noted the hungry Japanese appetite for correspondence courses; according to one report, well over 4 million adults are enrolled in such courses.

Turning to the European variant, Dorotea Furth observed that one important reason why European higher education has not moved to rapidly into the mass stage is that Europe's secondary schools provide certain of the educational and schooling functions that are being assumed by America's community colleges and technical institutes. Under the circumstances, Europe is not pressed to create as many mass oriented higher educational institutions.

**4. Expansion in the Eighties and Beyond**

The discussion of structure naturally led to speculation on the size of higher educational systems during the eighties and beyond. Howard Bowen, former President of several American higher educational institutions and now Professor of Economics and Education at Claremont Graduate School, dazzled the seminar by cogently insisting that higher educational systems everywhere were destined to expand until they could sustain "nations of educated people." Bowen suggested that the social and private demand for higher education was certain to grow, stimulated by the recognition that higher education not only pays but that it also enhances the dignity and quality of life of individual human beings. While acknowledging the "brake" of the labor market, Bowen observed how employment systems are flexible and will transform to accommodate the increasing quality of employees. Observing that the higher education industry causes little pollution and requires relative little energy, he maintained it was appropriate growth industry given the world's new prioities. Current economic stagnation will, in Bowen's opinion, result in no more than a "temporary pause" in the long run trend towards expansion.

Hiroshi Kida, Director of Japan's National Institute for Educational Research, in contrasting Bowen's optimism with the zero and even negative growth projections of several other participants, asked whether society would be able to afford further expansion. Bowen, pointed out that the higher educational industry, like other services industries, requires relatively modest levels of investment. And in response to a question by Morikazu Ushiogi of Nagoya

University, he cited evidence indicating that higher education still yields a good return on investment.

Harold Perkin, in the first address of the Policy-Making, Planning and Development session, humorously reaffirmed Bowen's values in his plea for a paradise regained for English higher education. In terms of policy, he pointed to the drastic decline in the size of Britain's college age cohort starting in 1984 and the likelihood of significant enrollment declines unless (1) access to local institutions by qualified young applicants are considerably liberalized, (2) transfers between institutions are facilitated, and (3) disincentives to adult education are reduced. However, Perkin concluded that England's current conservative government is unlikely to favor such changes. The combination of a declining numbers of youth in the higher educational age cohort and uncertain economic prospects led most other participants from advanced society to echo Perkin's pessimism. Ulrich Teichler, Professor of higher education at Kassel University, West Germany, and Dorotea Furth of OECD presented detailed demographic data for Europe, T. J. Pempel of Cornell University in the U. S. A. after predicting declining enrollments for the U. S. observed how higher educational staff would also tend to become older on the average and less responsive to their changing environment. Thus for Pempel a major concern during the eighties should be to develop incentives that would attract aging and/or frustrated academics into second careers in new sectors.

In contrast with the pessimistic enrollment projections for other advanced societies Ikuo Amano of the University of Tokyo argued that Japan would experience moderate but steady growth. On the demand side, Amano pointed out that student aspirations are still high with many still failing to obtain places. Moreover, by the late eighties Japan expects a new upturn in the size of the college age cohort which will further elevate demand. On the supply side, Amano noted the government's plan to expand national university's faculties in local areas. Also, Amano predicted that the government would relax the restrictions introduced in the mid-seventies on the expansion of private universities. Thus Amano anticipated a controlled response to a moderate rise in demand for higher educational places.

**5. Experience with Government Control**

Burton Clark, recalling his earlier remark that government was becoming

the principal environment for higher education, asked Japanese private university educators to comment on their experience with government aid: Had their institutions improved? Had they lost autonomy? The answers varied. Hideyasu Nakagawa, President of the International Christian University, said that he saw no indication of government interference, but he qualified this by observing that his experience in the private sector was relatively brief. Izo Shimizu, President of Japan's Oberlin College, observed that the aid had enabled his institution to improve its quality, but only within limits prescribed by the government. Ken Ogata, Professor of Hosei University, a well-known student of private university finance, observed that the government formulas aided university managers and professors but not students; indeed according to Ogata despite government aid the private universities have raised their tuitions and are even less accessible to low-income students than before. In a related comment, Harold Perkin observed that there was little question that increasing levels of government aid in England had gradually resulted in the decline of university autonomy. He described the Robbins Report as be the Satan of British higher education, for it was from that point that the "buffer function" of the University Grants Committee began to erode.

**6. Government Aid and University Quality**

Joseph Pittau, President of Sophia University, in addressing himself to Clark's question, concerning the impact of government aid indicated that most private universities would rather have done without the aid if there had been some other way (to solve this financial problems) out, but most by that time were close to bankruptcy. In the case of his institution, he has found that the regulations attached to government aid are stated so as to only encourage academic programs identical to those at national universities. Thus when his institution proposed the development of a degree program taught in English, it was opposed as no national university had one.

Alexander Astin, UCLA Professor of Education, enlarged upon the impact of government aid, observing that any government policy in this area is likely to have an effect. In 19th century England, the government's abstinence from aid was an incentive for university autonomy. The current policies of the English government seemed to be rewarding those parts of universities that expanded their enrollments. Likewise, in the U. S. today state legislatures

reward those departments who recruit the most students. For Astin, a topic that needs to be explored much more deeply in the eighties is under what conditions are government incentives likely to be used to reward higher educational quality instead of quantity.

### 7. The Faculty as Innovators?

The concern with promoting quality provided and appropriate background for a series of reflections on innovations. Most participants agreed that the seventies had been a period of extensive efforts to promote innovations, and at least a few successes. Astin observed that two significant changes of the seventies were the increased role of students in university governance, and especially the presence of women. Kobayashi observed that Japan had established several "new universities" and was making steady progress towards the "internationalization of higher education." Teichler noted the extensive curricular reforms that had been attempted in Germany as well as the democratizing structural reforms.

Taking a broad view, Soichi Iijima, former President of Hiroshima University, and one of Japan's leading pathologists, observed that recent higher educational innovations were a reflection of three general societal forces: (1) responding to the rapid developments in science and technology, (2) absorbing the trends of mass higher education, and (3) coping with student protests and their related elements. Iijima observed that higher education had been under great pressure, possible too much pressure. On the one hand, Iijima observed that it is dangerous for higher education to be isolated from pressures: tension is the source of creativity. On the other hand, he mused, is it reasonable to ask the university alone to resolve all these external requests? Looking to the next decade, Iijima predicted a quieter period, and he hoped that university staff, having learned the lessons of the seventies, would carry out a quiet program of reform.

However, a number of participants questioned whether the faculty were capable of agreeing on innovations. Astin advanced a theory of academic conservatism to the effect that the university grants extensive freedom to faculty and has few incentives for channeling this freedom towards common goals; faculty cherish their ability to think critically and are especially likely to demonstrate this ability when some member proposes a collective change.

Teichler argued that faculty are idealistic and have many ideas about change; their problem is that they have too many ideas and hence rarely can achieve consensus on which to implement.

Harold Perkin observed how every academic begins as an intellectual reformer promoting some new theory or method; however, soon he gets so committeed to promoting his idea that he closes his mind to others. Then as students begin to accept his idea, it becomes institutionalized and he ceases to be a promoter of change but rather the defender of a new tradition. Perkin, turning to Michio Nagai, indicated his enthusiasm for Nagai's marginal man concept and asked Nagai how such men could become more prevalent in universities.

Nagai observed that marginal men were common in the political sector of many contemporary societies. At one point a certain party would be in power and then after a time they would move to the margin as the opposition. Nagai observed that it might be interesting to think of instituting a party system within universities to quicken the pace of change.

To these observations, Iijima sternly responded that the mission of a university is not to promote change but rather to stimulate critical thought. Too much change can disturb this mission. Iijima observed that there is value in restraining the rate of change so that the habit of disciplined and probing thought can be nurtured within the confines of long-established (although constantly changing) academic disciplines. Mr. Iijima's firm rebuttal provided a dramatic climax to the discussion of the faculty's role in change.

**8. Students as a Force for Change?**

Several participants observed that student had been a major cause of higher educational innovations during the seventies, but few expected a regeneration of the student movement during the eighties. Only Cummings in discussing Indonesia predicted that students would form a major protest movement. When Teichler asked Iijima whether he hoped students would become active again during the eighties, Iijima replied that he hoped their activism would be restricted to the classroom. Iijima highly evaluated the productive tension that critical youth can bring to the process of learning, but was less positive concerning youth's foresight in urging university reform.

While most participants did not expect a new wave of student activism,

several observed that the composition of student bodies would be changing – with more women, older people, and minority group representation. Astin observed that higher educational curriculums and staffing had not yet made appropriate adjustments to accommodate the needs of these new clientele. Amagi and Teichler noted that adult students were likely to be especially outspoken in demanding relevant education. Whereas younger students are likely to accept a professor's claim so for the "importance" of everything he teaches, adult students will tend to make independent judgements and complain if they feel the professor is wasting their time. Astin worried that students might exert undesirable pressure leading to a chaotic university curriculum by the late eighties. However, most participants did not expect students to cause major changes.

**9. A List of Innovations Needed for the Eighties**

While participants were uncertain concerning who would promote innovation, several indicated problems that higher education will need to address during the eighties. The following are areas that were specifically noted:

1) V. Selvaratnam, Director of RIHED in Singapore, emphasized that the universities in the third world wish to reform their curriculums and organization so they can more effectively challenge problems of national development such as agricultural productivity and marketing, community health, employment creation, and income redistribution.
2) Tetsuya Kobayashi of Kyoto University noted how Japanese universities are attempting to deepen their investigations of third world cultures.
3) Jonchol Kim of Seoul National University indicated that Korea is searching for ways to improve both its preservice and inservice teacher training programs. This problem is common to many developing societies where curriculums are being reformed and school enrollments are rapidly increasing.
4) Kim also noted that Korean higher education will have to work out some formula to preserve excellence while responding to the mounting social pressure for greater equality between institutions.
5) Alexander Astin argued that universities need to develop means of evaluating the effectiveness of their various programs both the new and the old.
6) Dorotea Furth suggested that the admissions procedures of universities will become a major focus of evaluation during the eighties as secondary

schools reconsider their goals and the size of higher educational cohorts declines.

7) Dr. Furth also observed that, given the employment-oriented climate of the eighties, traditional academic disciplines of no obvious practical utility will face new pressures. Moreover, at elite universities, these programs if they attract students are likely to get poorly motivated students who enter them only on a temporary basis while waiting for openings in more practical disciplines. Thus Furth worried about the continuing health of these disciplines.

8) Urlich Teichler, commenting on the West German situation, observed that a major task for the eighties would be to digest the reforms of the seventies. However, Teichler noted that a new trend in German higher education was to seek ways to link higher educational and work experiences.

9) T. J. Pempel, after observing that total enrollments in the U. S. were likely to decrease over the eighties, predicted that local governments would begin to ask why faculty size should not also decrease. Thus Pempel felt that the institution of tenure would undergo serious re-examination. Pempel suggested several possible ways for universities to encourage senior faculty to leave higher education prior to the normal retirement age.

Other themes mentioned by the participants are summarized elsewhere in this report.

**10. The Centralization of Higher Education**

Pessimism about faculty and student initiatives on innovations led participants to consider the role of government. Most of the participants from the advanced societies expected the government role in university finance and policy to increase, but were uncomfortable with this eventuality. Perkin decried the decline of university autonomy and Pempel worried that increased government involvement would result in the weakening of those university conventions which guarantee academic freedom; he warned that "economizing" might be used as a false rational for dismissing unpopular or politically deviant faculty.

Astin suggested that one of the most important tasks for the eighties would be to establish public confidence in higher education. Insofar as universities lack legitimacy, they will be unable to defend themselves again external demands

for change. Astin suggested that government-supported higher educational institutions should recognize that they never enjoyed true autonomy. Public institutions have always been dependent on government, but until recently they have not been accountable. What is needed now is for higher educational institutions to develop acceptable means for demonstrating their continuing value to their publics.

Amagi emphasized that there are areas where government and the universities need to work together and others where they need indepentence. General formulas of university autonomy on the one hand or of unlimited government control on the other hand, are no longer appropriate in this era.

Turning to the developing countries, a heated debate developed between Robert McCaig and V. Selvaratnam over the role of government. MacCaig of Australia expressed his concern that government was assuming an increasingly dominant role in the operation of many Southeast Asian universities, and despite good intentions, the government's interventions might be destroying the potential creativity and critical capacity of higher education there. In contrast, Selvaratnam argued that most universities in Southeast Asia were excessively attached to colonial models and hence needed a big jolt. He pointed out how the University of Singapore had significantly improved after the government moved in, and moreover, how the university was now playing a key role in promoting national development. Returning to his concern with the socio-economic conditions in Southeast Asia, Selvaratnam emphasized that universities need to acquire a sense of urgence. Left to themselves, universities tend to ignore their nation's problems.

### 11. Links between the Universities of Advanced and Developing Nations

Several of the participants from advanced societies discussed the issue of the links between universities and intellectual activity in different parts of the world. Kobayashi observed that Japan's universities were increasing their efforts to develop area and international studies whereas Pempel lamented the decline of these disciplines in the U. S.

In response to a question by Dorotea Furth on the impact of area studies, Michio Nagai observed how the world has been characterized by cultural conflict for centuries. At one time the great empires of the Middle East, South Asia,

and China imposed their cultures on other nations, but in more recent centuries Europe and America have been the center of cultural imperialism. At the beginning of this century, Japan tried to advance its culture, but the West was too firmly entrenched for Japan to make much headway. Even today we find the West's and especially America's cultural dominance as evidenced by the fact that English is the lingua franca of international communication. But Nagai observed that new chapters continue to unfold in this conflict including the cultural revolution of socialism, and the resurgence of Islam. The tension between cultures needs to be viewed positively as a force for global creativity. At the same time Nagai hoped that some higher educational institutions could rise above the national particularisms of this conflict to focus on the emerging international order and the culture consistent with its development. Thus Nagai once again reminded the participants of the value of the United Nations University.

Several of the Western participants expressed their hope that their universities could play a larger role in assisting developing countries. Both Teichler and Pempel mentioned the possibility of sending students and staff to developing countries. Kobayashi observed that these overseas experiences also serve to enrich the cultural understanding of the citizens of developed countries.

Whereas Cummings suggested that the higher educational systems of developing countries could benefit from the inputs of foreign teachers and students, Selvaratnam took a largely negative view. He reminded the audience of the great burden of Western culture that was already diverting the universities from the urgent task of development. The presence of foreigners would merely reinforce this burden. Selvaratnam also observed how many foreigners who come to developing countries merely carry out research to advance their academic status in their own societies and encourage the same tendency in the local professoriate. Others were insensitive to or critical of the political climate, thus stimulating unwanted local tensions. Selvaratnam thus saw most foreign involvement as a means of promoting Western cultural imperialism.

Bowen, in response to Selvaratnam, suggested a useful distinction might be established between Western culture and Western knowledge. Whereas the culture might be particularistic, the knowledge had universalistic applications. Hence he suspected that there were areas where technical assistance would be of value to the developing world.

**12. The Moral Role of Higher Education**

Throughout the seminar, participants were addressing themselves directly and indirectly to the question of how higher education can affect the basic issues of the coming decade – can higher education promote develop, will higher education continue to serve as the critical conscience of society, are the university educational programs sufficient to cultivate the discipline of critical thinking in future generations of students? From the very first session Michio Nagai introduced these themes when he pointed out how today's multiversities may be losing their coherence as well as their autonomy from the interests of their sponsoring nation-states. In the discussion of innovations, Soichi Iijima and Alexander Astin reminded participants of the university's vital role in encouraging critical thinking. In the concluding session, with the encouragement of Joseph Pittau, discussion once again turned to the moral role of the university. T. J. Pempel, after reviewing several of the practical pressures being placed on American higher education, presented an eloquent statement of this common concern: The most critical function of a university, and yet the one that is almost asways the most difficult to fulfill is that of "speaking truth to power." If it does not do this, it may well survive as an institution; indeed, failure to do so may be the best political and social insurance policy in which an institution could invest. But structural survival would come at the expense of spiritual and moral decay. One must only pray that those who care deeply about universities and their long- standing functions will be willing to exercise the very hard choices that appear before them in ways that will put value and meaning above economics, politics and an empty structural survival.

Prof. Dr. H. Nakagawa, President of the International Christian University, agreed wholeheartedly with Pempel's sentiment and reminded the audience of need to continue to search for ways to convey this critical spirit to students. Ken Ogata of Hosei University reported that in a recent seminar he had with students they reported they often felt isolated from the mammoth institutions where they studied but knew no one and that they were often shocked at the gap between the ideals and the practice of their institutions. Those students, just as the participants of the Second Hiroshima International Seminar of Higher Education, seemed to be asking higher educational institutions to find some means, even in the difficult decade of the eighties, to reinstitute rich,

humanistic, and thought-provoking educational experiences.

The seminar closed with a brief closing ceremony where President Takeyama in a simple but touching speech thanked all for their participation. Dorotea Furth, speaking on behalf of the foreign participants, expressed their deep felt gratitude for this opportunity to get together to discuss higher education under such pleasant circumstances. Kazuyuki Kitamura, in the closing speech, thanked everyone for finishing right on time!

**Higher Education for the 1980s**
– Challenges and Responses –

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